

# Comment on the Week

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## *Strikes in East and West*

Both the dock strike on the Pacific Coast and the trucking strike in New York, though for different reasons, are sure to arouse a good deal of interest among students of industrial relations. Generally speaking, employer charges of radicalism in connection with a strike are to be approached gingerly, but this is not the case in the Pacific Coast dispute. Harry Bridges, head of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, belongs to the minority group on the CIO Executive Board which can always be counted on to follow the Communist Party line. Charges, then, by the shipping industry that the strike, which began when the eighty-day Taft-Hartley injunction expired on September 2, should be attributed to "communism in the leadership of its unions" cannot be carelessly dismissed. In the negotiations which preceded the stoppage, the chief issues were the hiring hall and wages. On the former, the employers surrendered completely, and their final wage offer was only a few cents an hour less than the union's rock-bottom demand. Under the circumstances, it is only natural to look elsewhere for the real causes of the strike. On the other hand, what interests observers in the New York trucking strike is a fact which many employers, legislators and newspaper editors are reluctant to concede, namely, that the rank and file are often more radical in their demands than are their leaders. The heads of Teamster Local 807 had reached agreement on a new contract with five employer associations, but when the contract was presented for approval to a membership meeting, as the union constitution stipulates, the men howled it down. The ordinary guy who keeps the big trucks rolling, not the power-drunk labor leader Mr. Pegler writes about, is responsible for the stoppage which threatens to paralyze New York. If we can find out what led him to defy his leaders and vote for this drastic action, we may discover the well-springs of that discontent among workers which continues to poison industrial relations in the United States.

## *Dismal convention*

Last week the CIO's third largest affiliate, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, more familiarly known as UE, held its annual convention in New York City. A few days before the delegates assembled, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor, headed by Representative Charles J. Kersten, of Wisconsin, heard James B. Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer and first president of UE, testify that the union was a "communist front on many questions." Asked directly whether any top officers of UE were members of the Communist Party, Mr. Carey, who testified unwillingly and only after he had been subpoenaed, replied:

I don't think that makes any difference. A door-opener for the Communist Party is worse than a

member of the Communist Party. When someone walks like a duck, swims like a duck, and quacks like a duck, he's a duck.

That a growing number of UE members agree with this picture of their officers has become increasingly clear during the past year. On the very eve of the convention the delegates learned that their organization had just lost its largest local in Connecticut, where 6,000 employees of the Royal Typewriter Company, at Hartford, voted overwhelmingly on September 3 to affiliate with the United Auto Workers. This serious loss followed by only a few weeks a similar defection in Brooklyn. But not even these blows could loosen the grip which the Emspak-Matles machine has fastened on UE. As in years gone by, the democratic opposition to the pro-communist regime was swamped in every test vote by majorities of five and six to one. While admiring the courage of men like James Carey and Harry Block, who persist in continuing the fight for democratic unionism within UE, we find it difficult to criticize those who, convinced that the odds against them are too great, have decided to shift their CIO allegiance to the United Auto Workers.

## *What next for France?*

"It's not for me," said Premier Robert Schuman when, defeated by a National Assembly vote of 295 to 289, he tearfully departed from the rooms of the President of France. "It's not for me, but I am thinking of the tragic situation of France." Perhaps it is just as well that the situation is tragic, for the destruction of all illusions as to a possible compromise solution of France's troubles from within has made inescapably clear that the country's inner difficulties can be overcome only by a resolute choice between the alternatives presented to the French economy from without. It is to the interest of Russia, as Anne O'Hare McCormick notes in her column for September 8, that there be a sick France. The grim fact that the French Socialists are apparently completely unable to resist the blackmail imposed by the French Communists in view of the high prices and the low wages of the working classes lends punch to the blackmail that the Soviet is exercising in Berlin. M. Schuman was defeated, not by a party vote alone, but by the combined pressures of a world international movement. Yet it is to the interest of the entire world that France's health be restored. But if the view continues to gain ground in France that whatever is to the good of other countries somehow contains a threat against France, the outlook is indeed hopeless. The weak, as well as the powerful, can exert a blackmail of their own making. As the Communists boast that the "hour of decision" is now at hand, as it becomes increasingly doubtful whether a bond issue can be floated or proposed tax reforms carried out, the question arises whether France can support the conditions required for

obtaining support from the United States under the ERP. The experts called in by President Auriol to make a financial diagnosis will be happy if they do not find they are conducting a post mortem.

### **The passing of Eduard Benes**

At his death on September 3, former President Benes of Czechoslovakia was honored by weeping crowds as a great national hero. And officially—until the new regime sees fit to begin vilifying his memory—he will be considered as such. Was he indeed a martyr, or was he a pitiable failure? The dispute is probably idle; and with the political avalanche that has swept over Czechoslovakia, even the bitterest of the old controversies that raged around the person and policies of Benes lose much of their significance. One thing, however, appears certain: the country's last democratic president was the victim of his own incurable self-confidence. As one of the greatest of all experts of our times in international order and procedure, Benes possessed limitless confidence in his ability to reach an adjustment in any sort of crisis through his skill, his coolness, his vast experience. Twice in his career he buoyed up the hopes of his countrymen against the invading totalitarian by exhortations to be calm; each time he was utterly disappointed; as he was fooled when in 1938 he refused to believe Osudsky's warnings that France would not come to his country's aid against Hitler. As a passionately nationalist Czech, Eduard Benes had equally unbounded confidence that his people never would or could be forced to surrender to any tyrant. But the new era has spelled the doom of easy optimism and of nationalism as a means of security. The bells that tolled for the funeral of President Benes sounded the *De Profundis* for these twentieth-century idols as well.

### **Beard on the Constitution**

Charles A. Beard, who died recently in Connecticut at the age of seventy-five, rocked the academic world with his ground-breaking *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913). What he did was to examine the dust-laden records of owners of government securities and of other forms of property as of 1787. He found, by and large and on the basis of admittedly fragmentary documents, that the fifty-five delegates to the Constitutional Convention "represented" the commercial interests of that period. Judging from the emphasis he attached to his findings, everyone under-

stood that Beard was proposing the following thesis: the framers of the Constitution were all, to some extent, men of property; the Constitution protected property rights; therefore the framers proposed the Constitution, and like-minded delegates to State ratifying conventions accepted it, for self-centered economic reasons. Beard himself, however, did not draw this natural conclusion. Everyone else did. Instead, the historian wrote:

The purpose of such an inquiry is not, of course, to show that the Constitution was made for the personal benefit of the members of the Convention. Far from it. . . . The only point here considered is: did they represent distinct groups whose economic interests they understood and felt in concrete, definite form through their own personal experience with identical property rights, or were they working merely under the guidance of abstract principles of political science? (p. 73.)

But the word "represent" is even here tendentious.

### **How valid is Beard's hypothesis?**

That Charles A. Beard has left a lasting imprint upon the interpretation of American constitutional and political history no one can deny. He helped to correct a one-sided emphasis on "abstract principles" in the explanation of how American institutions have been shaped. A study made of his influence showed that while high-school textbooks have clung to older interpretations, nearly all college textbooks, in both American history and American government, have accepted this newer one. Many of the latter simply interlard the Beardian hypothesis with the more conventional treatment, without assessing either one. Charles Warren subjected Beard to serious criticism in *The Making of the Constitution* (1928, pp. 69-95). Pitirim Sorokin found the correlations between property-owners and supporters of the new Constitution unconvincing in *Contemporary Social Theories* (1928). Finally, Beard himself conceded the priority of political over economic considerations in the re-edition of his lectures on *The Economic Basis of Politics* (1945), explicitly acknowledging the statesmanship of the founders he had praised the year before in *The Republic*. As it stands today, therefore, the Beardian emphasis of economic factors in politics is not excessive. That he underestimated the claims of moral principles, especially in his most recent writings on foreign policy, is also true. In fact, Samuel Eliot Morison in the August issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* was able to point out many historical inaccuracies in Beard's latest effort to pin blame for the war on President Roosevelt. The four volumes of *The Rise of American Civilization*, composed in collaboration with his talented wife, are a literary triumph. Beard was never so one-sided or extreme in his "economic determinism" as popularizations of his theory would suggest. His great weakness was his secularistic philosophy, his inability to understand thinkers with larger views than his own. He did uphold American civil liberties. He grasped our complicated political system. But his isolationism belonged to a pre-war and politically immature America. Charles A. Beard was the only scholar ever to be elected president of both the

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### **Public opinion grows up**

By an odd coincidence the death of a trenchant isolationist took place just two days before Elmo Roper announced the results of a public-opinion poll contradicting isolationism. Do Americans regard competence in domestic or international affairs as more important in a candidate for the Presidency? No less than 49 per cent said "international," against 29.8 per cent for domestic. What *kind* of competence in international affairs do they respect? Over two-thirds (practically all who expressed an opinion) designated Secretary Marshall or Senator Vandenberg as possessing the kind of competence needed. As both men are identified with our policy of international cooperation, it looks as if isolationists are fighting a rearguard action.

### **Argentina: the fundamental law . . .**

The Constitution of the Argentine Republic, dating from May 25, 1853, appears headed for revision. It is the Peronistas, now at the peak of their power, who show most interest in change. Under the 1853 Constitution, in many respects resembling our own, the President may not be re-elected unless a six-year period intervenes. While General Juan Domingo Perón's constitutional term of office extends to June 4, 1952, loyal supporters in Congress are solicitous for the future. There is, then, no reason for surprise that one of the proposed amendments up for consideration by a constitutional convention would allow a President to succeed himself. For some time Opposition delegates in Congress have been waging a losing battle. On August 14, the day the Chamber voted, 96-33, to call a constitutional convention, the Radical Party (conservative) proposed the impeachment of President Perón and suggested a congressional investigation of bureaucratic graft. Earlier, on August 6, the forty-two Radical deputies had staged a walkout in protest at the expulsion of Dr. Ernesto Sammartino, who had ventured publicly to criticize Perón. Their resignations unaccepted by the Party executive, the missing delegates came back on August 13. But meanwhile the Peronistas, on August 12, had passed an Organization bill granting Perón authority to draft both male and female Argentinians over twelve in case of an "emergency" and to requisition private property. There is little more that Perón, and his economic czar Miguel Miranda, can ask, save assurance of continued control of the Government, without appearing to violate the Constitution. Given the amendments, they can proceed unhampered for an indefinite period. Public opinion, formed by a controlled press, will probably be satisfied with the appearance of legality.

### **The commissar and the chromosome**

It's a sobering thought, said the Thoughtful Observer, puffing thoughtfully on his thoughtful man's pipe, that in all probability we shall never really know whether the earth is round or flat. Take genetics, he said, warming to his task (the T.O. usually gets to the point in his

own circuitous way if you give him his head). Take genetics, for instance. It is settled doctrine among the world's geneticists that environment can affect the individual, but that he does not pass on to his children the characteristics he acquires during his lifetime. That is, continued the T.O., striding up and down and filling our office with thoughtful smoke, it was settled doctrine until a geneticist arose in Soviet Russia by the name of Lysenko. He claimed to have disproved it by a series of experiments which left the scientific world gasping. It is true, conceded the T.O., that these experiments were witnessed only by Lysenko and his research colleagues. Another Russian, Vavilov, one of the greatest of names amongst the world's geneticists, opposed Lysenko bitterly. Where is Vavilov now? Nobody (outside Russia) knows; he is just *spurlos versenkt*. The Lysenko bandwagon has been gaining speed, and Soviet geneticists are scrambling aboard. Just the other day a veteran anti-Lysenko man, Professor Zhebrak, threw in the towel and confessed that he could no longer "retain the views which have been recognized as erroneous by the Central Committee of our party." Meaning, of course, added the T.O., that he could not retain his views *and* his head. The gospel according to Marx, Lenin and Stalin, went on the T.O. pedantically, requires that the Soviets be able to condition their citizens and that the conditioning stick, even unto the third generation; hence Lysenko. Hence also the fact that the decades of research and the uncounted thousands of experiments which built the science of genetics are now found to have been a "bourgeois fraud," invented to perpetuate the capitalist system. And that is why, concluded the Thoughtful Observer, we may never find out whether the earth is round or flat; for it wouldn't seem to make much difference to the Soviets; and until the Central Committee pronounces, how can we ever be really certain?

### **Christianity and the Orient**

Asia, teeming continent of over 1,200 million, currently experiences profound changes in her political, economic and social structure. Since the war, especially, the evolution has been rapid. The Western world, long accustomed to regard Asia as the seat of ancient cultures and a timeless outlook, cannot effectively resist the developments which time makes necessary. A colonial mentality is as outdated today as white supremacy. The part of wisdom is to join hands with the Asiatics, to offer assistance, without domination, in directing the tide into constructive channels. But in the process of evolution, specifically Christian forces play too little part. Monsignor Montini, of the Papal Secretariat of State, recently pointed this out in a letter to the 1948 Semaine Sociale, at Lyons, on Overseas Peoples. True, increasing numbers of missionaries and native clergy convert and baptize more and more non-Christians. In larger countries, establishment of native hierarchies goes forward at an encouraging pace. China, for example, has 11 archbishoprics, 47 bishoprics. However, to preserve perspective, we should remember that the United States, with little over a third of China's population, and only 20



per cent Catholic, has 23 archdioceses and 100 dioceses. India shows similar signs of religious development. But figures and records of baptisms tell only part of the story. Asia's future is being written in the industrialization programs, the population policies, the educational systems, the conservation measures, adopted by the new politically conscious generation.

### **"Redeeming the temporal" in Asia**

Asia's intellectuals and leaders must be reached, quickly, and on their own plane of professional competence. Otherwise they, and their policies, will go uninfluenced by Christian principles. Asia is still pliable. Its millions are courted by communist agents who penetrate every stratum of society. The success of these latter is limited, save where action committees back them up. But if Karl Marx is not generally appreciated, despite the Cominform propaganda, neither is Christ. Ultimately, without extensive Christianization, a destitute Asia will travel down the road of materialism. After all, the Western world has shown the way. There is point then to a remark made on his return from an Asiatic tour by youthful Bob Rambusch, international secretary of the Young Christian Students. "We've lost the first round," he said, in the struggle to give direction to the nationalistic movements of Southeast Asia. In the battle for influence, the Communists know the techniques. They exchange students, train native leaders in technical subjects, work with intellectuals. Christians could do the same, were they sufficiently awake to the need. It is a sound principle that the baptized soul, the recipient of the sacraments, has to work at "redeeming the temporal," at supernaturalizing a quite complicated universe. Asia today, with its myriad problems in government, economics and social organization, awaits just such redemption. But it takes skill, as well as zeal, to bring it.

### **Fumbling in China**

Ever since the war's end, China's internal strife has been increasingly influenced by the current status of her diplomatic relations with the United States and the Soviet Union. After a year of continuous effort—from 1946 to 1947—to bring the National Government and the Communists together, the United States gave up trying to mediate the civil war in China. At that point the break between the Nanking Government and the Russian-supported Chinese Reds became final and complete. The Communists then launched their offensive in Manchuria and in North China. Alarmed by the swift progress of communism, President Truman sent General Wedemeyer on a fact-finding mission in the summer of 1947. Upon his return to Washington, the General submitted a report which, for reasons of security, was never made public. Congress, nevertheless, allotted \$130 million for China, mainly for food and medical supplies. But China has not escaped the fate which befalls all Russia's neighbors: constant border pressure and conquest by infiltration. Despite visible progress in domestic organization by the Government of President Chiang Kai-shek, the communist tide rises at an alarming rate.

### **"North China People's Republic"**

Following well-proven tactics in North Korea, China's Reds announced on September 1 the formation of a "North China People's Government." The communist North Shensi radio revealed that an assembly consisting of 528 delegates, including emissaries of the government-held territories, have voted the creation of a "truly democratic regime." The event was described as "epoch-making" and a prelude to a future "All China People's Government." The CP-dominated Assembly reportedly voted several reforms, and also heard accounts of a merger of two large administrative regions into one military and political unit, embracing some 44 million people. What may be next on the communist time-table in China we can only guess. But the outlook is not encouraging. Every successful move by the Reds brings closer the grim and disastrous reality of a communist China. Our country, which only slowly realizes how imminent is the danger to China, should be thinking in terms of lend-lease. The legitimate Chinese Government needs military supplies now. If we continue to heed left-wing voices repeating that Chinese "revolutionaries" are nothing but "agrarian reformers," we shall soon find the country under the complete domination of Soviet Russia.

### **Father Gillis' valedictory**

In the September issue of the *Catholic World* the Rev. James M. Gillis, C.S.P., casts a retrospective glance over his twenty-six years of labor as editor of that magazine, a position from which he has now retired. Very appropriately, he sees in his own career an exemplification of the dictum which he so willingly quoted: "The Catholic press is and of right ought to be the freest press in the world." Whether you agreed with Father Gillis or not, you were never in doubt as to what he was saying and the freedom with which he said it. As he sagely remarks:

It would be a pity if the case were otherwise. All the spontaneity and most of the vitality would disappear from Catholic journalism if every editor or writer were to be compelled to express himself with the caution of the Athanasian creed or of the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent.

But there is a much more fundamental matter. You are never in doubt with Father Gillis as to his purpose in speaking or writing, which is to express his deep personal conviction as to the moral issues that the affairs of the day involve. It is this insistence, in season and out of season, upon the rightness and wrongness of things which has caused many a fluttering of dovescotes when Father Gillis' voice was heard on such matters as human rights, racial prejudice, the assumptions of tyrants or the influences behind political events. But it is this same moral insistence—coupled with an inexhaustible fund of charity and good humor—which has gained him his wide host of admirers and friends. No easy task awaits his successor in office, the Rev. John B. Sheerin, C.S.P., already well known as a writer, editor and lecturer, but if he continues in the great principles laid down by Father Gillis, he will know that his course is charted towards success. AMERICA's prayers and good wishes for Father Gillis, Father Sheerin and their co-workers!



## Washington Front

For some years there has been a frequent cry among students of political affairs, especially those on the left, that "what we need most in this country is a realignment of political parties." The old parties are seen as having outlived their usefulness, as piping the same chantey, as being unrepresentative of the divergent elements of national thought. No one ever has come up with a practical blueprint on how to do it, but in this Presidential campaign there is talk again of new party movements emerging.

A purely "liberal" Democratic party and a strictly "conservative" Republican party? New Dealers might have liked the idea, but conservative Southern Democrats, recalling Thad Stevens and reconstruction, would be appalled. Many Northern Republicans who dislike reaction within their party nevertheless might have no wish to get into the furrow behind the donkey.

When Henry Wallace set out to organize a third party his followers proclaimed that this was the pre-Civil War party realignment all over again—paralleling the death of the Whigs and that day's splinter parties and the birth of the new Republican party of Lincoln. The Wallace people looked over the present-day Democratic feuding and declared that a new party would be born.

This election campaign does have elements which may

augur new party divisions, but these are unlikely to spring from the Wallace movement. The so-called Independent Progressive party has neither labor nor the non-communist left in the mass supporting it, and without such broad roots it lacks the fertility to grow. The Communists may give Mr. Wallace the pitch after they're through using him in November, and the party line may take them in an altogether different direction.

But there are other factors at work which could lead to staking out new party boundaries, and they will be worth watching. One is Walter Reuther's announced determination to begin building a new party, on his CIO-United Auto Workers foundation, after November. Another is the earnest bid of the Republican leadership to exploit the Southern revolt against President Truman and try to build a two-party system in some areas below the Mason-Dixon line. A third factor is the readiness of some conservative Southern Democrats to see Mr. Truman whipped if they themselves later can control the Democratic party—even though it be a minority, sectional party from there on.

The greater vigor may lie in the Reuther move. If Mr. Truman is defeated there is bound to be a struggle for control of Democratic party machinery. That might open the way to a bid for national dominance, between now and 1952, by the first really broadly based labor movement in American politics. Labor has been in politics, of course, but usually only on a duration-of-the-campaign basis. Something more lasting may be ahead.

CHARLES LUCEY

## Underscorings

A practical demonstration of the solidarity of the world student community is the plan adopted by the 34th annual Newman Club convention at Minneapolis, Sept. 3-5, for displaced persons who will attend American universities. Approved by President Truman's Commission on Displaced Persons, the plan calls for American universities to offer scholarships to displaced students, and for fraternities, sororities and similar groups to provide room and board. Immediate action was urged upon the Newman delegates by Herman W. Neusch, because "military governments will soon refuse to continue DP camps and will turn these people loose to wander back to their homes."

► How many of the hopeful young men and women entering college this fall will ever graduate? In a report entitled *Behind the Academic Curtain*, Dr. Archibald MacIntosh, of Haverford College, reveals actual figures derived from a study of 655 liberal arts institutions. In men's colleges (over 1,000 students) withdrawals ran to thirty-seven per cent. Academic failure is the chief cause. Financial inability comes next. Here is a problem for educators, parents and students to probe. Should fewer freshmen be admitted? Could more counseling save more

of them? Should more terminal curricula be set up, better adapted to those who now fail, and not geared to a degree program? A system which undertakes to educate two and a half million students and is calculated to fail (for whatever reasons) in the case of half of them can scarcely claim to be properly adjusted either to those who succeed or those who fail.

► The National Council of Catholic Women announces that the 58-page report on its Institute on the United Nations is now available to the public. Address: 1312 Massachusetts Ave., Washington 5, D. C.

► NCCW also makes several practical proposals for the observance by Catholic Women of United Nations Week, Oct. 17-24. These include: corporate Communion on Oct. 24 for divine guidance of the General Assembly in Paris; special devotion to Our Lady during the week, particularly under her title of Our Lady of Fatima; a special meeting devoted to UN accomplishments; study of the Holy Father's address to the International Union of Catholic Women's Leagues.

► Two new retreat houses will be opened this fall. That of the Society of Jesus in North St. Paul, Minn., started on the invitation of Archbishop Murray of St. Paul, will be the first house of the Society in the Archdiocese. Bishop James E. Kearney of Rochester, N. Y., has given the Religious of the Cenacle a house in that city, which is being remodeled to accommodate 35 to 40 retreatants.

C. K.

# Editorials

## *Appeasement over Berlin*

Though no communiqué has yet been issued on the secret negotiations in Moscow, it now appears certain that the United States, France and Great Britain have made an important concession to the Russians on the critical matter of Berlin's currency. They seem, indeed, to have granted to Stalin and Molotov the exclusive right to issue money. In the light of this agreement, the purpose of the conferences among the military governors of the four occupation zones, which began in Berlin on July 31, is plainly to work out details of the new policy and to attempt in some way to reconcile four-Power control of the city with Russia's sole currency right.

This will not be an easy task. Up to this time, our representatives in Germany have been firmly opposed to granting the Russians the exclusive right to issue money for Berlin. They have soundly argued that such unilateral power over the lifeblood of the city's commerce would lead inexorably to complete economic domination by the Russians. From that point it would be merely a question of time before they would assume full political control.

The fact, then, that our negotiators in Berlin are fighting now for four-Power supervision over a currency which the Russians would solely control indicates the extent of the concessions made at Moscow. There is certainly grave reason to doubt that, once the Russians are in command of issuing currency for Berlin, the other Powers will be able to exercise any effective supervision.

Admittedly, something had to be done to break the deadlock over Berlin. The airlift, though brilliantly conducted, is not a final answer to the barbarous Soviet blockade. If the Russians continue to stop rail and water transportation into the city, we shall sooner or later be forced to withdraw. Since we are not willing to risk war over Berlin, or to permit the starvation of the several million Germans in the city's western sectors, we had no choice except to open negotiations and to enter them prepared to make concessions.

Furthermore, the currency situation in Berlin is having a disastrous effect on commerce, second only to the blockade itself. At the moment two currencies circulate in the city: the one is what passes for legal tender in the Russian occupation zone of Germany; the other, the new mark which was introduced, with excellent results, in the western zones on June 18. For Berlin businessmen, this creates an impossible problem. Typical is the case of a publisher who sells the bulk of his newspapers in the Soviet sector, receiving in payment Russian-sponsored marks, but must buy his supplies in the American zone, where only the Western B mark is recognized.

Such being the background of the present secret negotiations in Moscow and Berlin, there is every reason to

share the apprehension over the outcome which is said to be widespread among the pro-democratic elements in Western Europe. While it is true that the Berlin negotiators have also been charged with the duty of discussing the blockade of Berlin and the stalemate in trade between Eastern and Western Germany, it is unlikely that we shall be able to win concessions here which will offset what we give to the Russians. More than five months ago, Soviet representatives abandoned the Allied Control Council, which had been established under the Potsdam agreement as the ruling body of occupied Germany. At that time they asserted that four-Power rule of Germany was dead, that Berlin was part of the Soviet occupation zone, that the Western Powers had no further rights or business there. Not the slightest indication exists that the Kremlin has changed its mind. Therefore, if the Russians raise their blockade in return for control of Berlin's currency, this means merely that they have strengthened their position in the city and are maneuvering to accomplish by other means what they failed to gain by the blockade. The Russian-sponsored attacks on the Berlin City Assembly suggest that the next move will not long be delayed.

Our leaders insist that we intend to remain in Berlin. We hope that they are right. Surely, any other course would betray not only those gallant democrats in Berlin who are risking their lives by opposing the Soviet gangsters, but the freedom-loving people of all Western Europe as well. But in any case it is time to reassure Europe's democrats that in our view present circumstances point the way towards opening negotiations for an alliance along the lines of the Vandenberg-Lovett resolution. Such a hard-and-fast military commitment, under article 52 of the UN Charter, would show the world that we have no intention of quitting Europe under threat of Russian force.

## *Program for Paris*

On September 21 the UN Assembly will begin its third and what promises to be its most protracted session thus far at Paris in the Palais de Chaillot. Few of the delegates, we suspect, have any illusions about the Assembly's ability to abate the cold war. Its major manifestation, the Berlin imbroglio, is not even on the agenda, and no one seems willing to put it there. That does not mean, however, that the Assembly must be written off, before it starts, as entirely nugatory. It can profitably focus world attention on many secondary aspects of the steadily deteriorating East-West relations.

The Soviets, we may be sure, will make the most of the fact that the meeting is being held in Paris, to convince the Europeans of the iniquity of "American capi-

talist imperialism." The vituperative Vishinsky may be expected to surpass his best efforts of a year ago. Unless the U.S. delegation goes prepared with a positive and aggressive plan of the operations, it risks a sound drubbing at the hands of the Soviet propagandists.

In the first two General Assemblies, the U.S. delegation lacked such a positive and aggressive policy. In the main, our spokesmen showed an unwillingness, and often an inability, to mix it with the Soviet apologists. Except for Secretary Marshall's powerful initiatives of last year, our delegation has appeared to appease Russia, fearful it seems, of "driving the Soviets out of the UN."

Secretary Marshall is generally credited with having, within the last six months, systematized our foreign policy into an organic whole, in line with our proclaimed determination to resist all forms of Soviet aggression. It remains to be seen whether the U.S. delegation will reflect that policy change during the present Assembly.

If it acts consistently with the rest of our foreign policy, as now constituted, our delegation will at once take the offensive against the Soviets and maintain its pressure all along the line to the end of the Assembly. It will spread upon the record the whole sordid story of Soviet responsibility for the continuing world chaos. To do that, it needs only to tick off, one by one, and in unsparing detail, all the moves by which the Soviets have sabotaged the peace. Korea, Manchuria, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Berlin, Poland, yes, the Baltic States, Hungary, the recent attempt to wreck the Social and Economic Council's work at Geneva on human rights, genocide, and freedom of information; all the boycotts, filibusters, and assorted obstructive tactics of the past three years: those are but a few of the counts in the indictment.

Conversely, the United States must be prepared to present a spirited defense of the Marshall Plan. Soviet propaganda succeeds by endless iteration. Our delegates may tire of repeating that we hide no imperialist designs beneath our assistance to the nations of the West; but only by such repetition can they stem the flood of Soviet attacks on our good faith.

Of the 57 items on the Assembly agenda, two especially invite positive and aggressive American initiative: international control of atomic energy, and restriction of the veto. Of the 17 nations which have studied the American atomic control proposals, 14 have accepted them; only Russia, Poland and the Ukraine have dissented. The atomic armament race is three years old. Time is running out. On our delegation rests the solemn responsibility of explaining to all 57 member nations the desperately urgent need of immediate international control. Out of the ensuing debate may come a demand for prompt formation of an Atomic Development Authority, with Russia if possible, without her if necessary. The United States will lose nothing by encouraging such a demand.

The "Little Assembly," created last year at U.S. insistence, has recommended that the veto be dropped on membership applications and on cases involving peaceful settlement of disputes. Its recommendations on membership are supported by an opinion of the International Court. The United States has approved such restrictions

on the veto power, but has, unaccountably, strenuously objected to the Argentine proposal that a conference be called to amend the veto provisions. Fear of offending Russia need no longer hold us against the majority will.

In a recent address to a pilgrimage from Boston, the Holy Father voiced the hope that the coming Assembly would not only save the world "from an unimaginable cataclysm, but put it on the road *that leads to joy in justice for all*." "If ever an assembly of men," he added, "gathered at a critical crossroad in history, needed the help of prayer, it is the Assembly of the United Nations." And that, it is our pious belief, goes double for the U.S. delegation.

## Showdown in ERP

Ever since June 7, 1947, when Secretary Marshall first suggested the possibility of a cooperative approach to postwar economic problems, progress toward an operating European Reconstruction Program has probably been as rapid as could be expected. By midsummer 1948, though many details were still being negotiated, ERP was a functioning reality. Now at length it has reached a snag, chiefly because of disagreements over allotment of funds and the terms of loans.

Developments of the past six months have been especially rapid. On April 3 President Truman signed the "Foreign Assistance Act of 1948," a new milestone in our international commitments. In Paris, on April 16, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) became a reality, when seventeen nations, including Western Germany, signed the convention. Meanwhile, on April 7, the Senate had confirmed the appointment of Paul G. Hoffman as Economic Cooperation Administrator. Thus the ECA was launched as the U. S. agency, channeling ERP funds. To Europeans, working primarily through the OEEC, was left the job of coordinating efforts and agreeing on detailed distribution of funds. W. Averill Harriman, former secretary of Commerce, was sent abroad to act as ECA ambassador.

But as ECA progresses it becomes more and more evident that this economic program requires the most delicate handling. Through ERP, and the control of funds it implies, the United States is in a position to put pressures on other governments. But the United States decided not to use ERP as a political weapon, or as a means of social reform. Sound economic practice and mutual assistance among the nations aided were, however, to be insisted upon. Private enterprise would be favored where possible. If the United States looked to broader objectives, such as the political unification of Europe, this was not the declared goal of ERP. Europeans were to find their own way in these matters.

It is precisely at that point that the trouble arises. The ECA has been singularly unsuccessful in negotiating loans for reconstruction. Certain of the nations concerned look askance at the 3 per cent asked, and let it be known they prefer the more favorable terms granted Britain in the original postwar loan. Of more serious nature is the inability of nations cooperating in the OEEC to agree on



distribution of funds. The amount assigned Western Germany, for instance, appears too great to some.

Satisfactory arrangement of intra-European exchange and trade still seems remote. Not a few nations want to export more to their neighbors than they import, with the result that the over-all trade balance for the continent would remain unfavorable. Self-sufficiency as an economic ideal is not fully set aside, despite steady progress toward cooperation. To achieve reasonable success in these areas, the United States may have to exert more pressure than was at first anticipated. Some European nations apparently are coming to that conclusion, and turn to ECA for a solution of internal problems of OEEC. Others, conscious of their cultural unity, show themselves fearful of U. S. influence in their affairs.

Thus ERP becomes increasingly important in our foreign relations with Western Europe. An indication of this was the debate recently set off in Italian government circles between advocates of free enterprise and nationalization, after the U.S. representative for ECA had spoken on the values of free enterprise.

European reconstruction progresses more rapidly because of ERP. But the cooperation we hoped for is not there to the extent expected. Things are not made easier by the fact that many Europeans fear U.S. capitalism little less than Russian communism. The same is true in other areas directly or indirectly benefited by U. S. aid. Accordingly the United States, while insisting upon sound economic procedures, has to take these attitudes into consideration at all times. So if ERP hits a temporary bottleneck, that is the reason.

## Protestants on economics

Discussing the attitude of churchmen toward the economic changes of the sixteenth century which prepared the way for modern capitalism, R. H. Tawney points out that however much Catholics and Protestants might have differed in religion, they spoke with almost one voice on the moral aspects of economics, and that voice was the voice of medieval canonists. In both Germany and England, he writes, "where questions of social morality were involved, men whose names are a symbol of religious revolution stood, with hardly an exception, on the ancient ways, appealed to medieval authorities, and reproduced in popular language the doctrines of the Schoolmen." (*Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. Pelican Books ed., p. 87.)

Later on, of course, as the spirit of Calvinism penetrated the Protestant world and the implications for the marketplace of exaggerated religious individualism became gradually apparent, all this changed. The day arrived, and it is not so very long ago, when apologists for the Reformation proudly identified capitalism and Protestantism, arguing that the industrial superiority of the dominantly Protestant countries—England, Holland, Germany, the United States—over the materially backward Latin nations indicated the moral and dogmatic superiority of the new churches over the old. In many a Protestant mind, material prosperity came to be

regarded as an almost infallible sign of divine predilection.

For this aberration—this identification of Christianity with the pagan theories and practices of economic liberalism, which has been the cause of so much suffering and bloodshed in the modern world—Protestant leaders gathered at Amsterdam for the World Council of Churches have just made generous and courageous amends. On September 2, the Council received a 3,500-word report on "The Church and the Disorder of Society," which the early Protestant divines of whom Mr. Tawney wrote would very largely approve. In many of its pregnant paragraphs they would recognize an application to contemporary society of those very doctrines of the Schoolmen which they themselves preached and which all Christendom once accepted as sure guides through the devious ways of the marketplace.

The proof of this lies in the many similarities which exist between statements in the Protestant report and the social teachings of the Catholic Church, which are rooted in Christian tradition and have never departed from it. In language which sometimes recalls the social encyclicals of Leo XIII and Pius XI, and various allocutions of the present Holy Father, the authors of the report deplore the secularism of our age, plead for the coming of the Kingdom of Christ, insist on the duty of individuals to carry their Christianity into public life, reject excessive individualism, deny that private property is the root of social evil, find both communism and laissez-faire capitalism in conflict with Christianity, refuse to accept as inevitable economic law "the insecurity, hunger and frustration" caused by periodic inflation and depression, deplore undue concentration of economic and political power, and emphasize that "man is not made for the state, but the state for man."

Apart from terminology, which here and there reflects dogmatic differences of long standing, Catholic social thinkers will be inclined to quarrel with only a few points in this fine, challenging report. They will not agree that "the Church cannot resolve the debate between those who feel that the primary solution is to socialize the means of production and those who fear that such a course will merely lead to new and inordinate combinations of political and economic power . . ." This debate, they feel, the Church has already resolved.

Some of them, too, will withhold approval of the manner in which the report rejects communism and laissez-faire capitalism. While the authors probably had no such intention, it is possible to interpret their text as equally condemnatory, from a Christian viewpoint, of both systems. Most Catholics, while heartily concurring with Papal strictures on capitalism, would stress communism as by far the greater evil.

On a number of occasions the present Holy Father has invited all men of good will to work together to reconstruct modern society on the foundation which he and his predecessors have laid in their encyclicals and allocutions. If the Amsterdam report reflects Protestant thinking on the question, there is certainly no doctrinal obstacle to such collaboration.

# Communist influence in the ALP

Leonard J. Schweitzer

Leonard J. Schweitzer is a free-lance journalist who has contributed articles on foreign and domestic problems to both American and European papers for the past several years.

His most ambitious undertaking is a biography of Trotsky, which is now in preparation.

Toward the end of *Henry Wallace: Man or Myth*, Dwight MacDonald's dissection of the third-party candidate's political personality, the author reaches the conclusion that his victim is not an agent of Moscow, "but it is true that he behaves like one." Another, possibly more objective, reporter might add that there have been brief stretches when Mr. Wallace did not behave in completely Stalinist fashion; but few who follow the activities of his New York supporters, the men and women of the American Labor Party, would feel prepared to make the same concession to that group.

The ALP is not very old. While still a young group, it performed some useful services and is now a familiar part of the New York political scene. Although its strength generally is not sufficient to elect its own candidates in a three-cornered fight, it has occasionally been able to cast the deciding vote by endorsing the candidate of one or the other major party. A short time ago Governor Dewey attributed only a nuisance value to the third party as a whole, and surely this year the Governor's evaluation will be valid for its ALP section. But the Communists are always quick to appreciate the value of a really good nuisance; so they have cultivated the ALP since its birth and in their sly way wriggled into the upper councils of the party in orthodox Stalinist fashion. There seems to be no question of that sorrowful fact. The resignations of true liberals from the party highlight it. David Dubinsky was quick to leave years ago, and the latest penitent to follow him is Mike Quill.

Most observers have been content to record the fact that the top leadership of the American Labor Party is communist-influenced—to say the least—and to express sympathy for rank-and-file ALP-ers as unwitting, if not unwilling, victims.

Congressman Marcantonio is the party's best known boss. His congressional record and his chairmanship of the International Labor Defense, a communist-front organization, have been cited as a pretty clear indication of where that gentleman stands—although Eugene Lyons and others have pointed out that there was a time when it was hard to distinguish Mr. Marcantonio's utterances from those of Mussolini's bully boys. If there were any further doubt, the Congressman himself has dispelled it by his recent testimony before a Senate committee, where he opposed the Mundt-Nixon bill in almost the same terms used by William Z. Foster, the Communist Party leader. In much the same way, other ALP top leaders may be properly pigeonholed, but there is always a sigh and a tear for the deluded little fellow who does the bell-pushing and makes the street-corner speeches. Now it would seem that many of the captains and clubhouse workers may be deluded victims, but not particularly unwitting ones.

Eight years ago, I met a number of ALP workers and put them down as sincere followers of Franklin Roosevelt, a bit on the fanatical and naive side, perhaps, but certainly not indoctrinated with the latest pronouncements from the Kremlin. During the late Bronx congressional campaign, which gave Mr. Marcantonio an ally in the person of Leo Isacson, it became apparent that the ALP rank-and-filers had changed a great deal. Gone were the Roosevelt enthusiasts, and in their place were the obedient followers of the latest Moscow line, complete with suitable slogans and catch-phrases, and equipped with the inevitable *Daily Worker*. It was difficult to find the regular ALP-ers of old, who are presumably native New Yorkers, in the hodge-podge of assorted cutthroats and goon-squaders which the comrades brought in from outside.

Mr. Isacson, as might be expected, was surrounded by Communists. His advocates included former *Daily Worker* staff members and comrades and their fellow travelers from communist-dominated unions, such as Ben Gold's Fur Workers. Some of the new Representative's previous civic connections were suspect, and his voting and debating records in Congress have done nothing to relieve the suspicion.

No matter how one tries, it is impossible to consider that the ordinary workers who put Isacson over were unaware of his political mainsprings. Not one to whom I spoke—and they were many—failed to express the conviction that life was better in Eastern Europe, or that the United States was a land of warmongering tyranny. Not one but seemingly preferred an alien land and its tyrannical philosophy to his own country.

In that Bronx by-election, the Stalinists brought in every man and woman who followed the party line to do his share, and to do it in typically Stalinist fashion. No demagogic promise was too great, no lie too bold, no intimidation too violent for these political workers who saw their opportunity to win a tactical victory in their campaign for a Soviet America. As I talked to one after another I found that their conversation was filled with the flavor of Union Square—the same hatreds, the same perversions of logic, the same giant falsehoods.

A tour of the ALP's Manhattan clubhouses brought unpleasant confirmation of the fact that the communist aroma had permeated the American Labor Party. It soon became apparent that the program followed by the party (and here you can read either Communist or ALP) made the rank-and-file worker a crusader for Stalinist goals; but two questions remained to be answered before all suspicions were confirmed. Were these lower echelons aware of the direction in which they marched? Was the destination of the Stalinists their goal also?

During my investigation, I met three general types of ALP workers. Each of the first two groups was small in

number, and their actions were predictable to a close approximation. First there was the tiny but hard nucleus of tough leaders who glibly parroted the party line and maintained strict watch over the party apparatus. The second group was slightly larger but still numerically negligible. These were the starry-eyed, confused, amateur idealists who, bewildered by a chaotic world, saw in Henry Wallace their vision of a better America and a better world. They gave their support to Wallace without regard to the issues involved and despite his affiliations, not because of them. They are politically undiscerning—politically ignorant would be the better phrase—and therefore make excellent clerical workers for these crafty leaders, who know how to use each weapon to its greatest capacity. They work hard at their minor tasks, convinced of the righteousness of their cause but unable to understand the issues and unable to argue either convincingly or coherently.

But the third group was by far the largest and by far the most upsetting to any preconceived notion that ALP-ers followed their leaders blindly into travels they would not attempt if they were aware of the political orientation of the directors of their cruise. These were the petty officers, the precinct captains, the county committeemen, the soap-box orators. They were cut from the same cloth as the people you find at CP gatherings—cynical, articulate, masters of Mephistophelian logic and very, very sure of the correctness and the righteousness of their amoral course. Like all indoctrinated party-liners, they have all the stock arguments at hand and are able to deliver them as water from a spigot, in a constant stream and without deviation to the left or to the right. Foster would be proud of their intellectually dishonest feats.

Take the case of Anna M., a typical third-category ALP-er, whom I found addressing postcards in the second-floor clubrooms of a regular ALP organization in mid-town Manhattan. The cards were addressed to party workers, and requested that certain contributions which were being collected for Mr. Marcantonio be brought to the clubhouse immediately. They were obliquely written, and Miss M. explained to me that "it wasn't good policy to mention Marcantonio on a postcard." However, it couldn't have been much of a subversive activity, for she was quite frank in mentioning it to me, though I had been introduced as a vigorous non-sympathizer.

Anna M. was small, dark, intense and foreign, but I could not identify her background. She spoke of studying German and said she had forgotten most of the Russian she knew, so presumably she was neither of these in origin. She is a nurse, and has practised her profession in Moscow, where she lived for six years. Before the war she had been away from this country for six years (the same six years she had lived in Moscow?). In Moscow Anna had lived in the home of a university professor who had, as she told me, "bourgeois inclinations similar to yours." (Query: Is that professor alive today or was he purged?)

Anna is about forty or forty-five, unmarried and highly unattractive. A few moments after we shook hands she told me that the election problem was simple for the

people of this country. If you are for peace, your choice is an easy one: Wallace. If you are for war, then vote for anyone else. According to Anna, there is a plot against the peace by Wall Street and the other "agents of international monopoly capitalism." These were the same people who had encouraged and financed Hitler in order to forge a weapon against Russia. Before that, in England, France and other countries of the West, they had conspired with Trotsky and his spies against Stalin, the champion of the people's peace and the heir to Lenin's crusade for a true democracy. (All this is still a paraphrase of Anna M.)

Those who have heard this type of conversation from one of the CP faithful will understand that it is delivered like a vaudeville monolog of old, and that there is little opportunity for replies or questions. But I did manage to ask if it were not possible to choose peace and yet not compromise with essential principles, such as honor and liberty. Anna scornfully replied that liberty was a "delicate word" and that it meant nothing without the economic security which only the Soviet Union assured to its people.

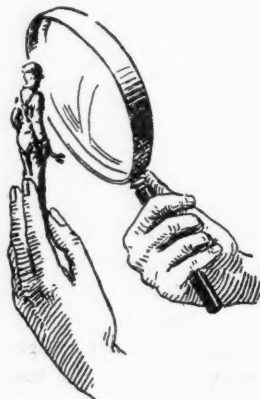
She continued that the Moscow purges of 1936-1938 were Stalin's method of safeguarding the socialist fatherland (Russia) against Hitler and international monopoly capitalism and thereby protecting the entire democratic world. Her explanation was that the Trotskyites were in league with Hitler and the monopoly capitalists for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviets. It was also the aim of Wall Street to embroil Germany with Russia and thereby to destroy communism and weaken Hitler.

The rise of Hitler in Germany found only the German Communists opposing him. The Social-Democrats of Germany, as elsewhere, were social fascists and traitors, too disinterested and corrupt to defend the interests of the working classes.

The Soviet-German pact of 1939 was dismissed with the statement that it brought neither aid nor comfort to Hitler and, in fact, definitely harmed his cause—but no reason was furnished for so saying. My question about communist non-support of the Allied war effort until 1941 was shrugged off as a lie of the "kept capitalist press."

That gave Anna her opportunity to discuss the American press. She claimed that it was impossible to read the truth about Russia in American books and periodicals. Authors and journalists in this country are interested only in making money, and they know that their publishers will not pay for anything favorable to the Soviets; so they produce what their capitalist bosses want.

But the sum total of what Anna M. told me amounts to the present Stalinist line as printed for all to see in the *Daily Worker* or *Political Affairs* or any one of hundreds of other regular CP periodicals, published inside or out-





side the Soviet Union. You can read the same arguments, word for word, in the organ of the Cominform, published fortnightly in Belgrade. Is there room for doubt that Anna M. is just as much a Stalinist, and a convinced and sincere one, as are the authors who contribute the same drivel to the open communist press?

Not one ALP-er to whom I spoke ever questioned the essential correctness of this line. There were half a dozen others in attendance when she spoke, and all backed her opinion. Doctor L. said "Amen" and added that nowhere else in the world had medicine made the progress it has in the Soviet Union. There was even one middle-aged man, a salesman of women's wear, who insisted that only in Russia was women's clothing suitable in style, for only there were clothes made with the needs of the workers in mind. A younger lawyer told me that justice was impartial within the bounds of Russia, but corrupt and biased here.

In a dozen other ALP centers, the only differences were in the names and faces. The farcical story they told was the same everywhere. Salvation lies in taking the communist path; Russia is the hope of the masses. There is a gigantic conspiracy to hide the truth from the American people; and the truth is that the corrupt American

political leaders want war, while Russia, although valiantly able to defend her own (as she proved when she won the war against Germany almost single-handed and did so much to defeat Japan) wants only peace and plenty for her own people and for the people of the world.

There was even the same threat of violence which I heard from the lips of Foster himself at Manhattan Center on October 20, 1947. Russia had secret weapons of her own and could use them, as monopoly capitalism would learn to its great cost if it continued to seek war. There was also the same evident approval given to this tough line which the Communists had given to Foster's statement last October.

No, these ALP-ers are not the innocent dupes of their leaders. Nor are they stupid fools working against their own interests and principles. On the contrary, they are wide awake and alert, and they know what they want. The sooner we realize that notices of their meetings and social events don't appear in the *Daily Worker* merely because that paper wants to use up some extra white space, the quicker we shall be able to take the necessary steps to expose them for what they are—Communists and sympathizers who strictly adhere to the Stalinist line and are alert to the main chance.

## Ministering to the mind diseased

Joseph J. Ayd

*Father Joseph J. Ayd, S.J., psychologist at Seton Institute for twelve years, and Chaplain of Maryland State Prison and of Baltimore City Jail, is a specialist in criminology who pioneered in the teaching of sociology in the Eastern colleges of the Society of Jesus.*

We read and hear much these days about the menacing crime problem, but much too little about a problem that constitutes a more ominous threat to our social well being. Unfortunately there is no FBI to keep tabs on it and give it impressive publicity. It is the problem of mental illness.

If we use the statistics for Maryland as a sort of criterion, the insanity problem may be considered twice as menacing as the crime problem, since we have in our private and public institutions for the insane (plus a waiting list) about twice as many patients as we have inmates in our prisons. Admittedly, the figures for Maryland do not constitute a scientific sampling, but the facts revealed by the situation in that State are startling and ought to carry a message to the general American public—a very distressing message.

Notwithstanding the laudable onward and upward march of modern psychology and psychiatry, science in this important field still "walks in the dark," and insanity (mental disorder) remains a mystery unsolved. In fact, we can well apply to this problem what Charles Kingsley once said about human science in general: "Everywhere, skin deep below our boasted science, we are brought up short by mystery impalpable and by adamant gates of transcendental forces and incomprehensible laws." And so our mental institutions the country over are still receiving over sixty thousand new commitments annually,

and shocking crimes, unthinkable to the sane mind, are daily recorded in our newspapers and over the radio.

Turning back the pages of authentic history, we find that at different times in the olden days four horsemen galloped into "the battle against insanity": superstition, fear, brutality and pseudo-science; and the chronicle of their forays is rugged and repulsive.

Superstition, founded on a demonological concept of insanity, prompted the burning and torturing of the bodies of the insane in order to exorcise the devils that were causing unfortunates to act and think queerly. Even skulls were trepanned to allow demons, bats, etc., to escape.

Fear, founded on crass ignorance, caused the poor insane folk to be cast into unsanitary, stinking prisons and poorhouses, caves and dungeons, from which speedy death was a merciful release.

Brutality, engendered by supposed necessity, tortured the insane, strait-jacketed them, shackled them to immovable chairs, bound them in sheets of stiff canvas, and used other inhuman means of coercion, the mere narrative of which surpasses belief.

Pseudo-science, therapeutically minded, leeches the insane until they were walking skeletons, starved them, purged them with cathartics and rare, magic drugs. In this country, to cite a mild instance, Dr. Rush (1745-1813) used to blister the skin of patients' chests with

horse-hair, causing infection from which large quantities of "laudable pus" would ooze forth. Thus, by indirection, he sought to bring surcease to troubled minds.

Finally, as though by divine mercy, a new day for the insane dawned, with the work of Philippe Pinel (1745-1826). In most parts of the civilized world, including the United States, the old, infamous asylums became a matter of history. London's Bedlam and Vienna's Tower, where caged insane persons were exhibited to sightseers for paid admission, and other such inhuman institutions, were finally and forevermore abolished.

As the years went by, these institutions were, in many instances, replaced by hospitals where the insane were fairly comfortably housed and sympathetically, if not scientifically, treated. There were, it is true, and there still are, as certain popular magazines pictorially tell us, sporadic throwbacks.

Next arrived what some psychiatrists call the "era of brain mythology"—whatever affected the brain in any way was pounced upon as a "psychological demon." At the outset of this era, not so long ago, the brain was considered by researchers as "the seat of reason and intelligence." Not much was then actually known about cerebral topography and the localization of specific brain functions. Scientific research in that era concentrated on the brain; physiology, anatomy, chemistry and, later on, bacteriology, took up the quest and ventured all kinds of views and solutions of our "mental mystery." More and more brains were in demand for scrutiny and research. In fact, a "brain association" was formed at Cornell University, to which a galaxy of distinguished folk of the time, such as G. Stanley Hall, Osler, Laura Bridges, etc., "willed" their brains to help the good cause. Practically every mental hospital of any standing added a brain pathologist to its staff, and section-cutting devices and microscopes worked overtime. Needless to say, the "brainsters," for the most part, got nowhere; but they are still active at Paris' Center of Medical Prophylaxis, and in this country too—as we shall see.

The extraordinary progress of chemistry (and biochemistry) furnished the investigators with new approaches and new tools, and the brain was subjected to every conceivable chemical attack. Various chemicals—such as indican and choline, to mention only two—were discovered in the blood or in the cerebro-spinal fluid, and were thereupon dubbed "causes." As a popular writer over-expressed it: "Chemistry never wearied of fishing in distilled water for the chemical causes of mental disease." It is still fishing.

Then there arrived on the scene Dr. Henry A. Cotton, Director of the New Jersey State Hospital and the first occupant of the Chair of Psychopathology at Princeton. Dr. Cotton, after years of surgical experimentation, came to the conclusion that the insanities were due to focal infections of the teeth, tonsils, sinuses and the intestinal tract, and wrote a book to that effect (*The Defective Delinquent*. 1921), listing a number of "cures" of mental ailments through surgery alone. Dr. Cotton died in 1933, and his theory of focal infections seems to have been buried with him. It proved to be no solution.

The bacterial theory also—and, in certain cases, with some reason—had its day. A great many diseases were discovered to be due to bacteria—why not insanity? In consequence, the brain was meticulously scrutinized for micro-organisms that were doing damage to man's intelligence. In one instance at least, bacteriology offered an explanation: it established beyond doubt that general paresis—characterized by slow mental deterioration, and constituting the final stage of untreated syphilis—was caused by the presence in the brain of the pale spirochete bacteria, the devastating causative factor of syphilitic infection. Beyond this, bacteriology offered nothing conclusive or helpful, though it did inaugurate what is called fever therapy in psychotherapeutics.

As information concerning the importance of glands began to occupy the minds of medical scientists, questions were raised as to the relation of glandular disorders to insanity. What about the glands of the insane, especially the endocrines or ductless glands? Endocrinologists endeavored to show that the insanities were due to glandular disturbances and deficiencies. Glowing reports came from several hospitals to the effect that glandular therapy was doing an excellent job in a high percentage of cases of dementia praecox. Dr. Morris Schlapp, New York State criminologist, in his book, *The New Criminology* (1928), even contended that all criminal tendencies were



the outcome of glandular abnormalities. The contentions of the endocrinologists were supported by the fact, then ascertained, that cretins (mentally and physically abnormal persons) inevitably responded to glandular therapy through the use of thyrotoxin. Extensive research—still going on, as is evidenced by the recent report of Dr. Hudson Hoagland on the adrenal cortex—disclosed glandular disbalance in mental cases. Up to the present, however, endocrinology has been baffled by the majority of insanities and has wrought no "miracles" in the field.

Any discussion of mental trouble must also feature the famous Dr. Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). As a practising neurologist in Vienna, Dr. Freud plunged into the confusing welter of psychological theories and, in effect, summarily rejected them all. He leaped far beyond the tenets of the hereditarians, of McDougall and the psychological school of psychiatry, and practically disembodied man. To Dr. Freud all insanities and neurotic afflictions were due to subconscious conflicts between psychogenic (mental) forces; he offered to the world (and hungry scientists) a new and novel system of psychotherapeutics called psychoanalysis. The Freudian "psychology," however, lacks scientific validity (see Jastrow, Dunlap, Harrington, etc.), and psychoanalysis has not turned out to be a catholicon for the specific psychoses. Even its most enthusiastic supporters will (albeit reluctantly) admit this last.

So medical science, burdened with this confusion of theories and therapies, still "walks in the dark." The outlook, however, brightens daily. Various associations

have been formed, such as the American Psychiatric Association and the American Foundation for Mental Hygiene; and many clinics have been established, such as Phipps (at Johns Hopkins, emphasizing psychobiology) for research and therapeutic experimentation. Already many therapies have been discovered which have been found highly effective in the treatment of many of the insanities—such as occupational therapy, thermotherapy, electrotherapy, hydrotherapy, and insulin and metrazol shock therapy. In minor mental ailments, psychoanalysis claims for itself an enviable record.

But how about the "incurables"? Is there no hope for schizophrenes of the fourth class, the manic depressives, the involuntal melancholics, etc.? In connection with these afflictions, the "brainsters" come to the fore again with two new therapies that have been successfully applied in a surprising number of these "incurable" cases—hitherto incurable, at least. These two new therapies are electric convulsive therapy (electric shock therapy) and prefrontal lobotomy (leucotomy).

Electric shock therapy, originating in Rome (Italy) in 1938, is gradually displacing the other shock therapies, because of its simplicity and controllability, and the fact that it can be safely administered in a doctor's office equipped for the purpose. It has attained a batting average of well over .250, with no direct mortality rate (see *Pageant*, Feb.-Mar., 1948, for a description of this therapy).

Prefrontal lobotomy (leucotomy), originating in Portugal in 1935, is a very delicate and dangerous operation in neurosurgery, and admittedly a "desperate measure" (Dr. Freeman). It has had, so far, a low mortality rate and has been effective, in improvement and apparent cure, in about thirty per cent of "incurable" cases.

To the candid question of the layman (and medical

science), why prefrontal lobotomy has been apparently effective and successful in some cases and absolutely ineffective in others, allow Dr. Harry Solomon, Professor of Psychiatry at Harvard Medical School and a distinguished "lobotomist" at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, to give an answer. Dr. Solomon, writes (Hoch: *Failures in Psychiatric Treatment*. 1948. p. 178):

What is the reason for failures in prefrontal lobotomy? Indeed, what is the reason for the successful cases? Why does this operation beneficially affect apparently different types of symptom-complexes, and why do new personality traits appear in some cases and not in others? At present no satisfactory answer can be given to these and other questions. It is clear, however, that the answers will ultimately come through physiologic and psychologic investigation.

For an authentic description of the techniques of this therapy see *Life*, March 3, 1947.

Notwithstanding the highly laudatory articles that have recently appeared in some of our popular magazines about the "miracles" wrought by electric shock therapy and leucotomy, engendering hopes that might be blasted in the future, all we can now say about these two therapies is that they are still in the experimental stage, and that more than a few of our foremost psychiatrists have not as yet been "converted" to electric convulsion and leucotomism. Personally, I sincerely think we are justified in looking forward to the radiant day when the recently established psychosurgery clinics at Hopkins, Seton Institute, the Hartford Retreat, the Boston Psychopathic Hospital and elsewhere in this country and abroad, will be able to meet all challenges and place electric shock therapy and leucotomy high up and permanently in the psychiatric arsenal of treatment of the stubborn and "incurable" insanities.

## People and resources: our vanishing soil

William J. Gibbons

Within the last six months, Fairfield Osborn's *Our Plundered Planet* has raised in many thoughtful minds the question whether tomorrow's millions will have the wherewithal to feed themselves. More recently, William Vogt's provocative *Road to Survival* (reviewed in *AM.* 9/4) painted the picture of world resources in terms so frightening that some have accused him of undue pessimism. But quite apart from Mr. Vogt's understandable pique at improvident exploiters of land and water in so many countries, his facts merit pondering. From them can be gathered a story of resource destruction within our time at a rate unparalleled in human history.

Both Mr. Vogt's factual study and the somewhat calmer but less documented essay of Dr. Osborn bring out the urgent need for workable programs of conservation and resource development. They incidentally draw

Father William J. Gibbons, S.J., a member of the Board of Directors of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, here returns to his analysis of the problem of dwindling resources vs. growing population, which was begun in the March 27, 1948 issue of *AMERICA*.

popular attention to the rather neglected field of ecology, a science which has as its scope the relating of resources to men. Today, in the United States especially, we have accumulated rather detailed knowledge about how to treat land, water and other resources. Further study is very desirable, but more important is the putting of our knowledge to work. Unless we do, survival at present rates of population increase and standards of living is at best doubtful. Conservation is therefore not luxury but an absolute necessity.

In an earlier article (*AM.*, 3/27), the present land situation in our country was briefly summarized. There we pointed out that of the 1,905 million acres the continental United States possesses, less than 500 million are potential cropland. The rest must be kept in grass or forests, or are simply desert. Perhaps 10 million acres of



cropland could be added to farms by irrigation, and about 50 million more through drainage. Only 100 million acres are naturally so protected as not to be subject to erosion in greater or less degree.

On the debit side, 100 million acres of cropland have been ruined for cultivation, at least for some years to come. Each year, for lack of suitable conservation practices, an additional 500,000 acres are seriously damaged, more or less permanently. Today, there is manifestly no place for the frontier mentality. Such a mentality, indeed, helped the United States expand westward rapidly; but in that expansion the land resources of a continent were eaten up in record time. The end results, as we now see, were dust bowls, floods and severe gully and sheet erosion.

Our present plight as regards arable acreage is not wholly one of abuse of cultivable, or supposedly cultivable, land. The handling of our water and forests has had much to do with spreading desolation. Only a small percentage of our virgin forest remains, while water tables are falling rapidly in many places, and levees must be built higher along silted rivers.

The best growing soil in the world would become arid or semi-arid were there insufficient water to moisten it. Contrariwise, soil may have its nutritive qualities leached out or be turned into swamp by repeated torrential downpours. In a very real sense, the presence of water in the right quantities is no less important for cultivation than are the right acreages of suitable land.

Water has the advantage, and not infrequently the disadvantage, of possessing tremendous physical force. Uncontrolled, it can wash away hillsides or destroy years of labor in a river valley in a matter of hours. Hence proper utilization of land is inseparable from right water use.

Forests, in addition to supplying lumber for construction, pulp for paper, and recreation for the fortunate, are nature's instrument for protecting watersheds. Because all water gets its power from running downhill, the place to start conservation is on the tops of hills and mountains, where nature intended that trees or grass should hold back the water from a devastating downward course. The non-selective woodman's axe, no less than the consuming forest fire, can wreck farms and spread havoc through valleys even more quickly than the failure of farmers to plow on the contour or to use proper rotation and cover crops.

The forests and watersheds are all part of the agricultural land-resources picture. They deserve extensive consideration, and are mentioned here merely to serve as a reminder that soil conservation has much broader implications than strip-cropping, terracing and contour plowing.

It took the United States a long time to realize that destruction of natural resources constitutes a threat to the very liberty we cherish. We have, indeed, a land rich in coal, oil, natural gas, iron ore and other minerals. Without them we would be much more dependent upon foreign trade and on imports than is actually the case, as certain European and Latin American economies clearly

show. But even more fundamental to our standard of living and our way of life have been the soil, water and forests we treat so carelessly. Were these to suffer measurable diminution it is doubtful whether our free institutions could long endure.

Consciousness of the erosion problem in the United States goes back quite far. Regrettably, popular understanding of the problem has remained very limited. Our Federal Government existed over a century before any official recognition of the problem was taken.

As far back as 1685, William Byrd of Virginia wrote an account of a severe rainstorm which carried away the tobacco crop and "all the top of the manured land." Today we would refer to this as severe sheet erosion.

Early clergymen and students examined the causes of erosion and sought for remedies. Thomas Jefferson, on his lands in Albemarle County, Virginia, perceived the value of what we know as contour plowing. He referred to it as "horizontal plowing." On his sloping lands he put into practice what he preached. Unfortunately the imitators were few.

Various farmers of the early nineteenth century experimented with cover crops, with rotation, and even with terracing. But the knowledge of these practices was not widespread. The feeling that our frontiers were limitless, or nearly so, was all too prevalent.

In the tidewater areas of the Atlantic seaboard the desire for quick gain, coupled with the colonial economy, resulted in intensive cultivation of tobacco. The effects of disregard for the soil are evident today in the silted-up creeks, abandoned acres and lowered yields which characterize much of the region.

Later, in the Southeast and the lower Mississippi Valley, cotton production along intensive lines had similar results. Still later, with the plowing of the Plains, the scene was set for the dust bowls, which we shall see once more when dry years again come to these regions. Much of the land concerned was more suited to grass and range than to row crops and clean tillage.

Even today, despite the experience of decades, the same program of "plow, cultivate, abandon" is being followed in certain of the great wheat-producing States of the West. The price of grain, and on the rangelands the profits from beef, wool or mutton, are more a determining factor in land use than are soil-type, precipitation or slope of the terrain.

Actual surveys of erosion were begun in the Southeast by the U.S. Department of Agriculture around the turn of the century. About the same period, Gifford Pinchot, Theodore Roosevelt and some other far-seeing men were busy promoting the conservation movement, which resulted in more popular understanding of the fact that resources have their limits. The same generation, it is worth recalling, showed a growing awareness of the need for curbs upon free enterprise if monopoly and selfish exploitation were to be avoided. In land use especially, a connection exists between the two.



In 1911 the Weeks Act authorized government purchase of timberlands for safeguarding headwaters of navigable streams. In 1917 scientific measurement of erosion was begun in Missouri, to be followed within a few months by similar experiments in Texas and the Southeast.

But despite the pioneering, no all-out attack upon the problem was to come until a later date. During the intervening years the high price of wheat and the need overseas at the end of World War I were to result in plowing of lands which should never have been taken out of grass. A decade was to pass before catastrophic dust storms aroused even city people to the danger threatening our national existence.

Some concern about land policy was manifest in the 'twenties, but most of the government thinking was about re-establishment of economic stability. In 1929, however, the Government set up an erosion-control station at Guthrie, Oklahoma. Stations were soon established in other States with serious erosion problems. Much credit for this development should go to Congressman James P. Buchanan, who in the year of financial collapse successfully introduced an amendment to the Agricultural Appropriations Bill which provided for the conducting of such experiments.

September, 1933 saw the Soil Erosion Service established in the Department of the Interior. Immediately surveys were begun and experiment stations started on a wide scale. Less than two years later, on April 27, 1935, the Soil Conservation Service was brought into existence by the Soil Conservation Act as an integral part of the Department of Agriculture. Its authority was augmented by the Flood Control Act of 1936 and the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act of 1937.

The Soil Conservation Service is not the only agency of the Federal Government engaged in conservation work. The Department of the Interior, through the Bureau of Reclamation, develops numerous irrigation and reclamation projects which are closely allied with conservation in the broad sense of the word. The Fish and Wildlife Service of the same Department in caring for animals must also supervise about 18 million acres of wildlife preserves in the United States, Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico. Similar work is done in the National Parks.

But apart from the SCS, perhaps the most extensive piece of conservation work is performed by the Forest Service, which has the task of administering 152 national forests, comprising 179 million acres, in the United States, Alaska and Puerto Rico. For reasons stated above, all these conservation projects have an intimate bearing upon the preservation and development of land resources. Soil, forest and stream cannot be separated into airtight compartments. Connected less directly with conservation, because remedial rather than preventive, are the flood-control projects which are carried out by the Army Engineers.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act, establishing the original AAA, was passed on May 12, 1933. By it the Secretary of Agriculture received broad powers to take steps calculated to raise depressed farm prices. Production con-

trol was one of the means adopted. After the invalidation of the AAA by the Supreme Court on January 6, 1936, payments for soil-conserving practices were a means favored by Congress for bringing economic aid to farmers. Thus the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotments Act of 1936 granted benefits to those who planted soil-building crops.

In this way, quite apart from the program of the Soil Conservation Service, there grew up a system of conservation payments, handled by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. These payments were justified on the basis that soil-conserving practices meant monetary loss to the farmer. Today we know that this is not necessarily the case. Adoption of conservation measures is frequently the occasion of greater yields and more cash income. So today it were better procedure and more consistent to separate soil conservation and economic-aid programs, at least in this particular form. Any conservation subsidies given should be for establishment, on a more or less permanent basis, of conservation projects or practices on farms. It would not be payment for non-production. The agency which is concerned primarily with soil conservation would do the administering of such funds.

More important than the government agencies, so far as the individual farmer is concerned, have been the soil conservation districts. These were made possible by the Soil Conservation Act of 1935, which required that States, as a condition to receiving Federal aid for conservation, should cooperate with the Federal program. Enabling legislation subsequently passed by the States authorized formation of soil conservation districts whenever farmers so petitioned.

These districts are analogous to school districts, inasmuch as they have power to regulate conservation measures and to establish programs. In most States and territories either all or the majority of the supervisors are elected by the participating farmers themselves. This democratic aspect of the soil conservation districts, plus the evident benefit in terms of more productive and better-conserved land, has strengthened the conservation movement and kept it from being a bureaucratic administrative affair. Today there are 2,010 soil conservation districts, and 23 other districts covering approximately 65 per cent of the farmland and affecting four and a half million farms.

The future of soil conservation in the United States is not yet clear. Land-policy legislation, bringing together our disjointed conservation efforts, remains to be passed by Congress. The form it will take depends greatly on whether or not special-interest groups are able to influence an all-out conservation effort in such a way as to make it less of an obstacle to their own business practices. It will be difficult, to say the least, to secure full cooperation in a unified program from farmers, ranchers, lumbermen, wool-growers, utilities and others whose interests may be affected by the social control which conservation implies. But an integrated program is imperative if we are to preserve as a nation what still remains of our inheritance.

## DP's on their way

With enactment of the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 (Public Law 774, 80th Congress), the United States made a genuine contribution toward solution of the problem created by Europe's displaced persons. The law, it may be recalled, provides that 205,000 refugees may be admitted to this country, under proper safeguards, by June 30, 1950. Congress allotted two million dollars for the purpose of hiring personnel, renting office space and making other expenditures necessary for administration of the law. In view of the number of employees assigned to DP casework from various agencies of the Government, who must be paid from these funds, the sum is, unfortunately, rather inadequate.

Under the terms of P.L. 774, "The Displaced Persons Commission" is empowered to set up and administer the resettlement program. To the Commission, President Truman appointed Ugo Carusi, former Immigration Commissioner; Edward M. O'Connor, Executive Director of the War Relief Services-NCWC; and Harry N. Rosenfeld, Assistant Federal Security Administrator. As Congress adjourned before the Senate confirmed the original appointments, the President had to have recourse to the Interim Power Act (recess appointments).

Certain delays in getting the machinery moving could not be avoided. Arrangements with the State Department and the Immigration and Naturalization Service had to be completed. The DP Commission was obliged to draw up simple but comprehensive regulations. Time was required to find suitable selectors to send abroad for fieldwork.

Working agreements have by this time been made with the International Refugee Organization and the U.S. Military Government, both of which are charged with caring for displaced persons now in camps in Germany, Austria and Italy.

The new law is adapted to the movement of large numbers of refugees. To enter this country under the provisions of P.L. 774, eligible displaced persons need only have assurances of a home and employment. No affidavit or bond is required.

But before an eligible displaced person enters U.S. Consulate premises to get a visa, he or she must go through security screening by the U.S. Army Counter-Intelligence Corps, as well as eligibility processing by the IRO and a health examination. At the Consular level a DP must meet the usual requirements for aliens admitted to the United States for permanent residence.

Fortunately, the Displaced Persons Commission is in a position to hasten the processing of cases by availing itself of records already in existence. Preliminary examinations will not have to be made, as was originally feared. To date, approximately 12,000 cases have been screened and are potentially eligible. But there is a backlog of only somewhat over 5,000 certified cases in U.S. consulates. As these will be used up quickly, greater speed in processing becomes essential. Present expectations are that with improved techniques and increased staff some thousands of DP's will be arriving monthly by December. The first

group will surely reach the United States by the early part of October.

The IRO has agreed to pay transoceanic transportation charges for DP's, while the U.S. Maritime Commission and other agencies provide the boats. Ports of embarkation are Bremen and Hamburg. As the ships must be filled to capacity in order to speed up the resettlement and keep down costs, it is urgent that sufficient processed DP's be always on hand.

In the United States various resettlement agencies channel DP's to their new homes. Certification of both housing and employment, or other required information, is apt to be missing from the forms sent in. Securing the missing data holds up the processing. Cooperating American Catholics have received Resettlement Form I, which covers all needed information, through diocesan committees or nationality groups. Church World Services exerts similar efforts on behalf of American Protestants. Through United Service for New Americans, the various Jewish agencies have done an excellent work in securing completed applications. Christian groups would do well to imitate their efficiency.

At the Geneva meeting of the UN Social and Economic Council, the Soviet delegate accused the United States of recruiting DP's for slave labor. Actually, Americans generally have carefully avoided any semblance of labor hunting. Under our DP legislation, emphasis is placed on preservation of family groups. Prospects are that the law may be liberalized to admit members of family groups, or individuals, who would otherwise be disqualified because of inability to work through poor health or handicap.

So far as the ordinary citizen is concerned, the work of resettlement can be expedited in several ways: 1) actively cooperate with your diocesan resettlement committee, nationality group or State commission; 2) keep data on housing and employment up to date; 3) fill out all information asked for on application forms; 4) send all forms through proper channels as quickly as possible. By efficient handling of all documents, with which the established resettlement agencies will help without charge, the number of DP's entering the country can be brought to the maximum allowed by P.L. 774.

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## Looking ahead

Do Americans hate the people of the former enemy nations—Germany and Japan? Norbert Muhlen, Bavarian-born writer, author of *Schacht, Hitler's Magician* and several other books, has made a survey of popular feeling on this question, the results of which will appear in an early issue of AMERICA. . . . Also soon to be published is a letter describing life in Bulgaria under communist control, written by a resident (now deceased) of that unhappy country to a friend in the United States.



# Literature & Art

## To M'sieu Jourdain

Louis F. Doyle

Gerard Manley Hopkins once wrote to a friend: "The ambition of every Irishman is to say a thing as others say it, only louder." Just how Irish this tendency is we wouldn't know, but with a change of "louder" to "in different words," the sentence might well serve as the poetical epitaph of Hopkins.

His obsession for giving new—and often prettier—names to entities already well-named suggests that possibly he may have inherited from some far, primitive ancestor the belief in some special virtue residing in a mere name, as apart from the thing named. Falling accent in verse (trochaic) smelled sweeter to him when re-christened "running rhythm"; rising accent (iambic), "sprung rhythm"; the run-on line "roveover"; an irregular number of unstressed syllables between the required stresses (as in *Christabel*), became "hangers," or "outriders."

The meticulous, fastidious solemnity with which he discussed these terms, as if strange, new entities had been born, really makes the man dangerous reading for those susceptible in any degree to the hypnotic effect of the printed word and, judging from the rapid spread of the Hopkins cult, there must be many such. *Gerard Manley Hopkins*, by the Kenyon Critics, is an amazing act of faith, a perfect *Credimus in Hopkinsum*.

There is not a single metrical device in all of Hopkins' fourteen hundred lines of completed verse that cannot be accurately indicated by the standard metrical terminology of English verse. Nor is there any that cannot be amply duplicated in the standard English verse of the past. Of the poetical effect, of course, this cannot be said. But that consists in the use he made of good old assonance, alliteration, repetition and interior (internal) rhyme.

That Hopkins was a true poet, few would deny, and I am not of them. That he was the greatest poet of the nineteenth century, few would admit, nor would I. That he was the only poet of that period who could infuse true poetic fire into religious subject matter—a rare and high gift—might pass without challenge. But it does not therefore follow that to speak of the "febrile immaturities" of Francis Thompson is not the language of febrile and immature cultism. The same Kenyon critic, with much the air of a German scholar rescuing Shakespeare from oblivion, then warns all Catholic readers against the pleasant delusion that they discovered the genius for themselves or were even now properly appreciative of him as a poet. Non-Catholic critics discovered Hopkins and all the wealth thereof, including

"outriders"; Catholics only bask in the reflected glory of a Catholic poet who is Shakespeare's nearest rival in the sonnet. I have taken that haughty warning to heart.

Father Hopkins was, admittedly, a neurotic—as which of us is not, to some degree? There is perceptible in his strange reactions to other poets a kind of frenetic fear of being drawn into the orbits of their influence, a fear he might have spared himself, since he was already quite plainly within those orbits. Keats was one, yet he frequently spoke of Keats disparagingly. He detested Browning, a minor sin, heaven knows, if his own obscurities were not so often directly due to the very same practices that make Browning obscure: excessive compression by omitting every dispensable word, and some indispensable, for sure sense; to say nothing of Browning's crabbed, dubious syntax. In that respect *The Windhover* is first cousin to *Rabbi Ben Ezra*.

He loathed Swinburne, yet availed himself generously of the two devices that are his trademark, alliteration and assonance, as well as, infrequently, the Swinburnian trick of internal rhyme, such as "Villon, our sad bad glad mad brother's name." Like Spenser, he likes to be deliberately archaic and quaint; like Shakespeare, he can use a verb as a noun—"the achieve of." He has Carlyle's fondness for coining words or, more often, new word combinations, such as "fathers-forth" and "fire-featuring heaven."

All this is not to say that the resultant style is merely synthetic. It is distinctive. It is only to say that he innovated nothing; that, like others, he merely made his own use of the tradition and, just as others, produced something that was greater than the sum of the parts. His habit of discussing alliteration and assonance as if they had dropped completely out of English verse since *Beowulf* is really rather baffling.

There is something little short of preciosity in the general tone of the letters whenever he touches on the sensitive topic of his verse. He seems to have made the discovery that *his* verse must be *performed* and then it "becomes right." If it were any other poet's work—say Tennyson's—no doubt *reading aloud* would be sufficient. Just what exquisite distinction lies between *performing* and *reading aloud* I cannot guess, but I suspect it is, like that between "iambic" and "sprung rhythm," chiefly one of euphony. So far as I know, there has never been any poetically literate person who ever dreamed of any other test, whether for rightness of verse, melodic pattern or sound-to-sense relationship.

As for sound and sense in the master, not even his most devoted disciples deny that his themes are few and his thought is thin. (Heavens, I'm alliterating!) Strangely, many of them who would begin immediately, at the very mention of Edgar Allen Poe, to ready up their arsenals of invective, find Hopkins' love for the

very sound of beautiful words and their associated imagery, a great virtue. I do myself, whether I meet with it in Hopkins, Poe or the early Yeats. The "thought-content" is of far less importance in poetry than admirers of Wordsworth have led us to think. Incidentally, Wordsworth was akin to Hopkins in that he, too, was ridden by a system, though not a metrical one, a system that did him no poetical good.

But precisely the admirable quality in Hopkins is his endless curiosity about the poetical possibilities of words and his passion for experimenting with them. It might be a good thing for poetry if it were ploughed under every generation for the sake of a harvest of new poetical language. Or, to change the figure, if the current language and imagery were tossed back into the melting pot and re-minted. But I am only pointing out that Hopkins was somewhat of the mind of Poe as to the relative importance of sound and "thought" in poetry and, it might be added, that Poe was a strong influence on the French *symbolistes*.

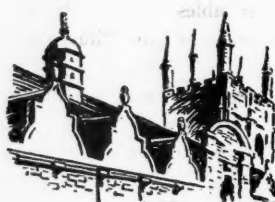
The *symbolistes* remind me of a famous poetical heresy with which Hopkins seems to have flirted, if nothing more. According to Thomas Sparrow (*Sense and Poetry*), the French symbolists derived from Abbé Bremond, who, in a paper entitled "Pure Poetry" and read before the French Academy, proposed the theory that poetry, on its highest levels, merges with music, pure sound. Taking this as their charter, Baudelaire and the rest merely put it into practice. Now Fr. Hopkins, who was too busy a man to be very widely read, may never have heard of Bremond, and would certainly never consciously have followed Verlaine or Mallarmé. But he was very fond of music. One of his most amusing discoveries is *counterpoint*: his term for metrical irregularities, or departures from metrical pattern which poets employ for the sake of variety or for special effects. His methodical and excessive use of the "contrapuntal" in his more difficult poems raises the question: "Is this patterned verse—or something else?" Poetry perhaps, but is it verse? Something better, no doubt, but is it verse? Nor will any amount of "performing" decide the query. There are those, however, who have no difficulty:

Even in polyphonic prose, which made a definite attempt to be contrapuntal, there has been no modern poetry attaining to the amazing effect of lines in Hopkins. His mind discarded ordinary word sequences and grammatical arrangements, creating for itself an original order which has its own habits of ingenious displacement and irregularity, making sometimes grace and sometimes grandeur. He can halt a sentence, a verse, retard it with a broken preposition, then set it spinning with a participle to gather momentum until it collects its own climax. Verbal indulgences, so easily faults of diffuseness, are here less faults than a curious, purposive colliding and jamming, an overlapping and telescoping of images and words in an effort towards sustained music and sense. Extravagance of a kind is the inevitable result, but extravagance so integrated, so disciplined to intention, that the accomplishment never sinks to mere lavishness. The will is never relaxed. (Hildegard Flanner, in the *New Republic*, LXV, 331.)

No comment, except that the third sentence sounds just a little like a football scrimmage, with the preposition furnishing interference while the participle races for the touchdown.

It seems that the study of Hopkins has now attained that mellow ripeness at which it is deemed proper to distinguish the Early, the Middle and the Later Hopkins. I mean that the capitalizations are not mine. Shakespeare is the only other English poet who has been accorded this distinction. When one considers that Hopkins wrote for only fourteen years, and quite intermittently, and that his total output of completed verse is fourteen hundred lines in the Oxford edition, all of it published after 1918, one might almost say he has become a classic in his cradle.

His sponsor was Poet Laureate Bridges, a lifelong friend, whose own poetry is at the opposite pole to his protégé's, being very much like the face of Tennyson's Maud. His "innovations" burst upon a world that was averse to innovations, a postwar world. He was unique, a Jesuit who wrote poetry—poetry, moreover, which, like Emily Dickinson's, was never intended for publication.



All of this constituted a strong attraction for the type of Bohemian who dearly loves a cowl—on someone else. Add to this that he was Newman's friend, and a convert.

Finally, he was obscure, always a hallmark of genius to those who demand "cerebral" poetry. Fortunately for his rise, the fact that there is only the minimum of the cerebral in his work did not appear too soon. The naiveté of his poetic theories has not yet dawned on the Kenyon critics; nor have the real, as distinguished from the fancied, merits of his work.

The more one watches the Hopkins movement, the more it looks like the Browning Societies. Make poetry obscure enough, and it will inevitably attract the lovers of double acrostics—ready, machetes in hand, to hack their way through the surrounding jungle to the Golconda within.

And yet not always. They can assume, for instance, that *The Windhover*, having been written by Hopkins, must symbolize Christ. Why? Did he say so? From the word "buckle" they derive a suit of Crusader's armor. But the commonest current meaning of the word is to yield, usually involuntarily, here voluntarily. The falcon suddenly, having demonstrated his prowess in facing up to a high wind, turns and rides with it, and the wind ruffling his plumage makes it "more lovelier"; but "more dangerous" is the going also. Again, because there is allusion to ploughed ground, the speaker Hopkins, is a ploughman, a lowly religious. Why not a furnace- or ash-man, since the next line has to do with "blue-bleak embers," whose dead outer crust falls and reveals, like a wound, the inner glowing heart? "My heart in hiding . . ." is the poem's most difficult phrase. Does it mean more than "here far below, watching and unknown?" Prosaic as it may sound, there is, after

all, the exigency of rhyming with "gliding," a word hardly to be changed.

If this sounds absurd and irreverent to those who bring to the study of a sonnet no store of rugged experience in trying to write one, I am sure it would not sound so to Hopkins. If anyone doubts that even the most skillful poet must, when dealing in rhyme, sometimes choose second best, he has only to consult a dictionary of rhymes or turn a beady eye on Keats' *Endymion*. Milton, in the preface to *Paradise Lost*, repudiates rhyme as "childish." He might have added "too often it necessitates some sacrifice of force or clarity to mere sound."

In interpreting *The Windhover*, which is easily our finest "bird poem," too much weight has been allowed the dedication, "To Christ our Lord." It is the only instance in Hopkins of a dedication.

He said in 1879 that it was "the best thing I ever wrote," and therefore [italics ours] he dedicated it to "Christ our Lord." (*Gerard Manley Hopkins*, G. F. Lahey, S.J., p. 117.) The dedication was evidently an afterthought prompted by excellence, not theme. The beauty of all of God's creatures, great or small, high or low, "counter, original, spare, strange," is his unfailing theme.

His passion for pouring old wine into new bottles of his very own making culminated in *instress* and *inscape*. But I have profaned the temple long enough. In a brilliantly amusing address to the English section of the M. L. A., Miss Marjorie Nicolson once told them that when English had been rendered as abtruse as calculus, then would it go increasingly forward. The one distinctive characteristic of Hopkins' verse is that it contains an abundance of syllables, many of them monosyllabic words, which must be heavily stressed in the reading—pardon, performing. When opposed meters, iambic and trochaic, are merged in one and the same line, they tend to cancel each other out, naturally. The result is bound to be a line overloaded with successive stressed syllables, as in

Her *fond yellow hornlight* wound to the west, her  
*wild hollow hoarlight* hung to the height

the weight of the stress being indicated by italics. Now this, M. Jourdain, is counterpoint. Or is it? For in all discussion of Hopkins, things have a strange propensity for being and not being at the same time.

If I have spoken less reverently of him than I may secretly feel, the blame be on the cult. If ever a poet needed to be protected from his friends, it is he.

## Books

### *Machines and men*

#### POLITICS IN THE EMPIRE STATE

By Warren Moscow. Knopf. 238p. \$3

This is a case history in the art of politics, which fortunately has little in common with technical treatises in the science of politics. It is not a discussion of the constitutional distribution of governmental authority in New York, but rather a realistic study of the manipulation of political power in the greatest State of the American Union. Students of politics and most intelligent voters realize that government in the United States on all levels is run by methods that are ignored in national or local constitutional or statutory prescriptions. At the core of American government everywhere are the political machines and the men who dominate them.

Warren Moscow, for years a political reporter in Albany for the *New York Times*, provides in this book a simple, well-written, entertaining, straightforward account of the techniques through which the six million voters of the Empire State operate politically or are operated upon by the men and machines that control power in the State capital, the municipalities and the rural areas.

The politically naive reader will find here facts and figures of dismaying character. He will discover how it is

that the constitutional division of powers between the Governor and the State legislature has little practical reality. He will learn why it is next to impossible to establish Democratic Party control of both houses of the legislature, even though New York normally counts more Democratic than Republican voters, and why Democratic Governors are not too much displeased with this situation. He will derive some comfort from learning that "the last time an election was stolen in New York City was in 1933." He may be surprised to discover that local party organizations "are more intimately concerned with the election of a State Supreme Court Justice than they are with the Presidency of the United States." The explanation of the latter is, of course, that judges have more jobs to dispense in any given county than has the President in the same area.

While unpleasant truths about State and local government are set forth in circumstantial fashion, this book is no

sensational exposé of all that is politically evil in the Empire State. It is a dispassionate, informed and understanding description of the real forces that provide for New York the most progressive and forward-looking local government enjoyed by any of the forty-eight States.

Mr. Moscow has faith in our political procedures. He believes in the intelligence of New York voters and in their ability ultimately to control the men and machines which rule. The book abounds in discriminating estimates of New York State's political personalities. The present occupant of the Executive Mansion in Albany comes off a poor fourth in comparison with his three predecessors. In fact, the unemotional, factual discussion of certain legislative and public-relations techniques currently being utilized by New York's Governor should give the voter pause. If anything, Mr. Moscow is kind to Tom Dewey. He has not drawn the conclusions which his facts fully warrant. But the conclusion is implicitly there. Devotees of the public-opinion polls should read his short final chapter—one of the most devastating critiques of these institutions yet to appear in print.

All of New York politics is here—the up-State, down-State split, the big and little city machines, the legislature, the executive departments, the courts, and the imponderables. This is government come alive—a handbook for all who would know what makes politics tick in New York.

JOHN MENG





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## IF EYEBROWS ARE RAISED IN HEAVEN

Newman's friends may raise theirs slightly at still another book about him being published—"What! Newman again? After John Moody's biography, and the new edition of your *Apologia* with Maisie Ward's introduction, not to mention all the other books about you published by firms other than Sheed & Ward!"

To which Newman might reply: "But this is the first book about my family, my childhood and my youth to be written by a Catholic, or by anybody who had access to all the letters and diaries and stuff my dear sisters left to their children . . . this is *new*!"

It is, too. Maisie Ward is one of those rare authors who really enjoy the research necessary to doing a good job on such a book: she spent six years on this one, **YOUNG MR. NEWMAN**, and the fun she had finding out what the Newman family were all like, what sort of a boy and young man Newman was, overflows into the book, making it unexpectedly entertaining reading. It is illustrated with pictures you haven't seen before, and the price is \$4.50.

**A TREASURY OF RUSSIAN SPIRITUALITY** (\$6.50), edited by G. P. Fedotov, is the first serious survey of Russian Orthodox spirituality to appear—nine long selections from the eleventh century to the twentieth, each with an introduction by the editor. All could only be Russian, and several, but especially the life of Archpriest Avvakum (one of the most startling old gentlemen we ever encountered) are both amusing and indescribably touching. We have sent a copy to Stalin and hope he will take it to heart and realize (if he hasn't already) that such deep spiritual roots are not lightly destroyed.

Our September Trumpet, with news of all our Fall books, will be ready, or nearly ready, when you read this. In case you don't know, it comes free: you need only send us your name and address.

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**SHEED & WARD**  
NEW YORK 3

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## Life and the land

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### FARMING AND DEMOCRACY

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By A. Whitney Griswold. Harcourt, Brace. 227p. \$3

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### PINE, POTATOES AND PEOPLE

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By Helen Hamlin. Norton. 238p. \$3

A. Whitney Griswold sets about the task of discrediting the idea "that farming as a family enterprise is the 'backbone of democracy.'" He examines the historical beginnings and development of democracy in England, France and the United States. He decides that modern democracy in England grew out of labor's revolt against industrial rule; that France, ever charged with political philosophizing, places great stress on the small farm, but that to a point detrimental to family farming; that American democracy, having begun when farming was practically the only enterprise, gained its strength only with the industrialization of the nation.

Mr. Griswold is very careful never to define democracy. He is adroit in the art of drawing conclusions which logically do not follow from the facts presented. There is an old adage "*qui nimis probat nihil probat*"—he who proves too much proves nothing. Griswold's book is replete with pronouncements of great statesmen, philosophers and leaders proving the need of family farms for the welfare of the nation. These statements cover an historical span from the days of Aristotle to the writing of Griswold's book.

Nevertheless, the author, so far as democracy is concerned, considers the family farm of small significance. Naming such countries as the United States, Germany, England, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Belgium and Australia, the author says:

In all of these the size, and in most the relative prosperity, of the farm population showed a steady decline. The fundamental reason for this was that whereas the demand for the industrial products was practically unlimited, the demand for agricultural products was not. There is a psychological limit to the volume of food consumption, and the demand for it, as compared with that for other goods, is closely linked to the level of population and national income. Hence, the greater the expansion of the national income through industrialization, the smaller the portion of it received by farmers.

If this proves that farmers have lacked the power to bring the benefits of democratic processes into their own backyard, it likewise proves that the industrial and labor classes, who supposedly are the great champions of democracy, have created something that is not dem-

ocratic at all, but rather a class-conscious system of government.

From a close reading of Griswold's book and a deciphering of its constantly perverted conclusions, one gathers that Griswold works on the hypothesis that democracy is based almost completely on a meaningless ballot and on national wealth, quite apart from its distribution. The social and economic welfare of the citizens individually is subservient to the nation's accumulation of monetary wealth controlled by the few. Yet Griswold, speaking of the British family farmer, says: "Not until the world depression of 1932 threatened the entire British economy with collapse was protection resorted to, and then in the interest of national recovery and security rather than of the agrarian way of life."

Here then, while Griswold still clings to the hypothesis that the agrarian way of life is of little value to democracy, he admits in the same breath that it had to be protected in the interest of Britain's national recovery and security. He proceeds elsewhere to say "there is certainly no universal law that equates agrarianism and democracy or family farming and democracy." This is the wonderful straw protagonist with which Griswold battles. No one seriously contends that family farming and democracy are completely and exclusively coterminous. Such an arrangement is no more democratic (rule by the people—all of them) than a plutocracy of industrialists.

Griswold's examples of England, France and the United States are insufficient, either from a philosophical or a scientific standpoint, to lead to a universal judgment. Furthermore, the very British industrial "democracy" Griswold uses as a proof of the small farmer's insignificance has already run itself into socialism. France has grown accustomed to overnight governments. The United States has yet to realize Jefferson's ideals, due to the ascendancy of industrialism. The author might have studied Denmark and a few other countries which give the lie to his hypothesis.

The only purpose Mr. Griswold's book serves is to help fill out the fast-growing shelf of books devoted to a smearing of family-enterprise farming, with the hopes of shaping public opinion toward the permitting of legislation which will legalize and safeguard the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few. It is the old Trojan-horse technique of talking democracy while slipping the noose of totalitarianism around the necks of the common folk.

Helen Hamlin's book, *Pine, Potatoes and People*, comes as a refreshing antidote to Griswold's book. Mrs. Hamlin has lived the democracy of small-farm

life in New England. Here are history, folk culture and character delineation such as can come only from one steeped in the ways of people on the land. Simple but revealing and pleasant illustrations lend graphic detail to the book's easy-flowing narration.

LUIGI G. LICUTTI

### A lifter of standards

#### THE STORY OF JOHN HOPE

By *Ridgely Torrence*. Macmillan. 398p. \$5

In the summer of 1928 an American college professor wrote in his diary the puzzling thoughts that came to him as he watched a laborious peasant toiling with a yoke of oxen in the French Alps:

I am going to be baffled, because I do not know the world, human values and realities. What, after all, are values? What do people mean by imponderables? Are they just ideas that feed our minds when our backs are warm, our stomachs comfortably filled, and we are giving our minds some harmless exercise? Are they just something that a terrible loss, a horrible need, a passion unexpectedly revealed may sweep up in a minute as the flames lick up the savings of a lifetime? I go to bed with all this unanswered. I may at least thank God even though I may not be any too sure what I should thank Him for.

The introspective person who expressed these thoughts was a lineal descendant of the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Sir Thomas Hope, Baronet, under King Charles I. He was also the lineal descendant of African slaves and American Negro freemen belonging, by the peculiar convention of Anglo-Saxon America, to the category known as an "American Negro." And he was one of the most important figures in the dramatic story of Negro higher education.

Born in Augusta, Georgia, John Hope was educated in New England and graduated from Brown University, and knew perfectly well how an intelligent man of part-African blood could make his escape—in some measure—from the common lot of his "race." He also knew most clearly what it meant, in humiliations and disappointments, to throw in his lot with the same race, by electing to live and work in the South. John Hope chose the latter course, and thereby entered upon a life struggle for the educational advancement of his people which culminated in his selection as the first president of the newly formed Atlanta University.

When Dr. Hope died on February 19, 1935, he left behind him the record of an intense and busy life and a masterful personality that combined restless imagination with a curious Scotch caution and shrewdness. His frequent self-

questioning as to ultimate "values" and meanings of life betrayed the difficulty shown by many another man in his situation and with his type of religious background, in finding the answers that only a fuller faith would have been able to provide.

The name of Ridgely Torrence is guarantee of a fine and workmanlike biography. Well organized and lovingly written, the life of President Hope is an excellent document in the cultural history of the American Negro, and a key to some of the major disputes that occurred in it.

JOHN LAFARGE

#### BLACK IVORY

By *Norman Collins*. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 305p. \$2.50

If Captain Swing of the British slave ship, *Nero*, had lived in the twentieth century instead of the nineteenth, he would have been protected from young Ralph Rudd by child-labor laws. As it was, young Ralph (a neat thirteen and a half in April, 1829) came aboard the *Nero* to wreak such havoc as was seldom wreaked. Of course, Capt. Swing had no one but himself to blame, since he had had Ralph kidnapped.

Make no mistake about it, Ralph was on the side of good; his assistance to the missionary saved him from the gallows when he reached England after his six-months' voyage to Africa. In addition to Captain Swing, who lived to impersonate his name, for swing he did, were such characters as Mr. Smew, Mr. Zion—the first and second mates respectively—Holy Jack, Bailiff and Dumb Aaron, the mute cook who was short on conversation but long on action with a meat cleaver in a fight.

Not since *Treasure Island* and *Kidnapped* have I come upon such a saga of villainy on the high seas as *Black Ivory*. Blood fills the scuppers, bashed heads and knifed backs crowd each other off the decks as the crew of the *Nero* tries unceasingly to lessen the world's population by murdering each other. But regardless of their experience at this business, they made a serious mistake when they tangled with that most precocious of all fictional youngsters, Master Rudd. Whether it's swimming a crocodile-filled river, throttling Holy Jack or bashing in Mr. Smew's skull, Ralph is a pretty handy boy to have on your side.

An electric-train company used to appeal to fathers with the slogan, "Buy your child a set for yourself." The same thing can be said about *Black Ivory*. It's a struggle of the pure of heart against evil without any of the usual trimmings of so-called historical novels. No women show up during the main action, and only briefly at the beginning and end do we meet Ralph's mother.

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This is the kind of book both father and son will love. The pace is fast, the characters clearly black or white, the struggle titanic. Mr. Collins has done a good job, as we would expect the author of *Dulcimer Street* to do.

But don't make the mistake I did and start reading *Black Ivory* at midnight—that is, unless you want to stay up the rest of the night.

JAMES BERNARD KELLEY

#### THE UNITED STATES AND SOUTH AMERICA: The Northern Republics

By Arthur P. Whitaker. Harvard University Press. 254p. \$3.50

Today, and in the foreseeable future, the great problems of our country involve every phase of foreign policy. It is, then, extremely necessary that we have a body of educated citizens who possess authoritative information and unbiased appraisals in this complex and delicate material. To master its entire circuit would baffle any student. The sector to attack is the field of urgency, and the subject of this volume presents such a field.

When one reflects on our awareness of the realities in Latin America, one quickly agrees that the national consciousness needs some awakening to the facts of that area. To instance but the remark of Theodore Roosevelt, that folks down there are "ridiculous little Dagoes," is enough to point the weakness of our quiz-program answers and snap judgments, a habit that can be as fatal in international affairs as it is deadly in social relations. This nonchalant, offhand, take-it-for-granted mood is distressingly childish when

serious business is afoot. In foreign relations there is no substitute for true understanding of the situation, and the "situation" refers to the political geography of the other fellow.

The five northern countries of South America abut directly on our life. Their proximity to the Panama Canal indicates solid concern. Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia are also five sovereign states which count largely in the record of the United Nations. Their economies tie in closely with our trade and support. And in a way they funnel to us the political trends of all the twenty republics to the south of us.

These lands are sometimes grouped as a unit under the title of Bolivarian Republics. The great Liberator freed them all and started them on their independent way of life. Yet they are far from unitary as a political entity. To study them, Professor Whitaker first examines their physical geography, in a chapter without peer in recent writing. The varieties of mountain and desert, jungle and coast-line, connecting settlements and isolated populations, are an essential basis for realizing the violence of their political past. This history is sketched as only a careful student can do it, pointedly, clearly, correctly, and with depth. Bolivia is "tin"; Peru, the country of "two cultures," European and Indian; Ecuador is "A Tale of Two Cities"; Colombia, "A Nation of City States"; Venezuela is "Oil." Throughout runs the story of marked advance in social organization and legislation and, in Colombia, democracy of a high order—to date. War-time developments illustrate the new

political patterns and leaders, economic expansion and international reactions. A retrospect reviews their dealings with the United States, a truly authoritative statement though done in thumbnail fashion. "Prospect" concludes the treatment in a picture of current movements and their probable outcome.

It would be hard to overstate the dependability and readability of this little book. While presented in popular form—its carefully selected guide to reading forms the one appendix—the narrative gives proof of mastery throughout. The editorship of the series, *Inter-American Affairs*, which ran from 1940 to 1945, undoubtedly gave the author unusual preparation for succinct and at the same time illuminating presentation. End papers furnish excellent maps of the area. On pages 202-203 a slight misprint confuses the numbers in labor organizations in Colombia. The remark about "left of center" on page 198 should not lead the unwary to think of the writer as a doctrinaire—he sees with too clear an eye for that. His book shows an enlightened sense of public service and is an ornament to the American Foreign Policy Library.

W. EUGENE SHIELDS

#### WOMAN WITH A SWORD

By Hollister Noble. Doubleday. 395p. \$3

An American Joan of Arc who did all but go into physical battle, Anne Carroll figuratively suffered a fate similar to that of her earlier prototype. The victim of a chain of unbelievable circumstances, Miss Carroll of Maryland never received either the honor or the money due her for recouping the Northern forces in a manner that actually won for them the deadly conflict.

*Woman with a Sword* is not just another Civil War story—engrossing as that subject can be. It is a thoughtful, sympathetic biography of a woman—a woman whose inspired unselfishness prodded her, a Southerner, to work for the preservation of the Union with a zeal far beyond her strength. Her espousal of this cause naturally led to breaks with friends, to a permanent rift with her one-time fiancé and, finally, to the questionable impossibility of marriage with her co-worker, Judge Evans, whom she really loved. More than that, the book embodies a picture of Lincoln that should warm the heart of his worst enemy, and an intimate insight into the minds of many other prominent men of that harrowing period.

*Woman with a Sword* bespeaks an

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## A Preview of New Longmans Books Fall 1948

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| <b>THE DEER CRY . . . . .</b><br>Fictional treatment of the life of Ireland's St. Patrick, weaving the legends and accounts of him into an exciting novel.  | <b>William G. Schofield</b>    | Oct. 4<br>\$3.00           |
| <b>AWAKE IN HEAVEN . . . . .</b><br>The author of <i>The Heart of Man</i> sets forth the comprehensive view of life given in the <i>Summa Theologica</i> , and applies the principles of St. Thomas Aquinas to problems in the world of today.                      | <b>Gerald Vann, O.P.</b>       | Published<br>\$2.50        |
| <b>THE CITY AND THE CATHEDRAL . . . . .</b><br>Paris and the Cathedral of Notre Dame in the thirteenth, the most colorful of centuries. By the author of <i>The Biography of a Cathedral</i> .  | <b>Robert Gordon Anderson</b>  | Oct. 20<br>\$3.50          |
| <b>SACRED HISTORY . . . . .</b><br>Illuminating study of the Old Testament in relation to the history of other civilizations which surrounded Israel and influenced her destiny.  | <b>Daniel-Rops</b>             | Nov.<br>\$5.00             |
| <b>YOU CAN CHANGE THE WORLD! . . . . .</b><br>The founder of the Christophers gives the details of this dynamic movement for world betterment.  | <b>James M. Keller</b>         | Oct.<br>\$3.00             |
| <b>NEW DAWN IN JAPAN . . . . .</b><br>A Maryknoll missionary describes religious conditions in Japan both past and present.   | <b>Everett F. Briggs</b>       | Oct.<br>\$2.50             |
| <b>TRANSFORMATION IN CHRIST . . . . .</b><br>A work on Christian perfection which is a real contribution to the religious and philosophical literature of our time.   | <b>Dietrich von Hildebrand</b> | Nov.<br>\$4.00             |
| <b>SERMONS AND DISCOURSES—2 Vols. . . . .</b><br>Two more volumes in the new edition of Newman's works edited by Charles F. Harrold.  | <b>John Henry Newman</b>       | Nov.<br>\$3.50<br>ea. vol. |
| <b>THE NEW TESTAMENT . . . . .</b><br>in the Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures<br>One-volume edition intended for the devotional reading of the faithful, and as an introduction to the larger edition in 4 volumes. Translated from the original Greek. | <b>Cuthbert Lattey, Ed.</b>    | Published<br>\$4.00        |

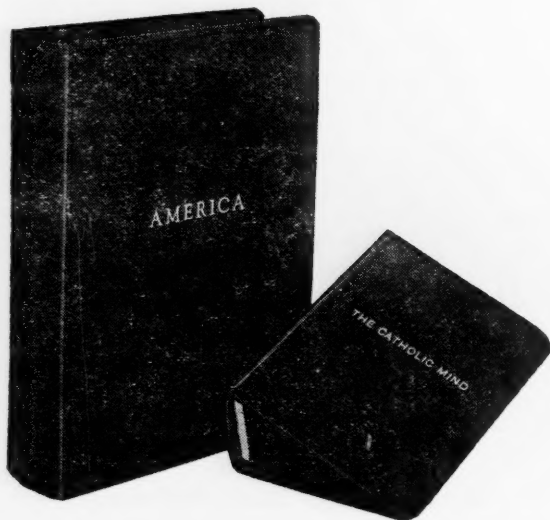
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infinite amount of research in its accurate recital of events, and a real crusading spirit in its portrait of the heroine, who was at once writer, observer, planner, adviser and confidante of even Mr. Lincoln himself. To Anne Carroll belongs the credit for the Tennessee Plan and many other decisive moves in the struggle to make the U. S. one again.

The flowing style of the book is enhanced by the sustaining interest of Anne Carroll's constant reappearances. It is her story that provides life and vigor unusual in tales of this kind. And several fictional interpolations lend zest to an already fascinating plot.

An outstanding reflection on the Civil War period embodied in the following quotation gives an over-all view, not previously emphasized enough, of the conflict as Lincoln saw it:

... the fight against slavery, the organization of free labor, the battle against child labor, the fight for women's rights, the struggle against capital, for education, for equal liberty are all one struggle indivisible.

The book ends on a note much more cheerful than that of Anne Carroll's actual declining years and subsequent death.

CATHERINE D. GAUSE

**THE MEDITERRANEAN:** Its role in America's foreign policy.

By William Reitzel. Harcourt, Brace. 185p. \$2.75

This is at once the latest volume issued by the Yale Institute of International Studies and the first book to make a comprehensive survey of the Mediterranean as a locale of American interest and power. Its timeliness in the light of such recent events as the sending of American naval forces to the region, the Truman Doctrine of military aid to Greece and Turkey, the economic assistance supplied to Italy, and other happenings, is patent.

Mr. Reitzel commences his brief study with an account of the historical attitude shown by the United States toward the Mediterranean. In this connection, however, his statement that "until very recently the United States had no interest in the Mediterranean that it consciously asserted as vital" neglects the importance attached by this Government in its early days toward ridding the area of the Barbary Pirates. This brief war waged by the United States was unique, and manifested quite clearly how important the Government considered the region.

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bring about the first important re-awakening of American concern over the Mediterranean, long a vital interest of Great Britain, not to mention all the other states involved there. World War II shifted the basic responsibility for the maintenance of the security of the area from Britain to the United States, and only witnessed the revival of Russian interest. The extent of the latter resulted in the adoption of a firm American attitude, designed to check Russia and prevent the spread of communism in a region now considered extremely necessary to the United States and to world peace in general. We are deeply interested in preserving an overall stability in the area, and are faced with the acceptance of powerful commitments if our interest is to be more than transitory.

It is Reitzel's thesis that until "a new pattern in international relations is clearly revealed" and the United States is able to state with clarity that it is either "one pole of a Two-Power (Anglo-American) system, or that it is a major Power coexisting with others in a Balanced-Power system, relations with the region will not come up for final re-examination." Rather will we be faced by a continuing call for commitments which will require a mounting scale of involvement. Owing to the diversities, divisions and jealousies of the region, such a procedure promises to be "a long-standing and expensive problem in American foreign relations."

Clearly there is need of a searching examination of our interests in this critical area, following which as stable a policy as possible should be established. Otherwise, we shall drift uncertainly and our activities of the past will go for naught.

THOMAS H. D. MAHONEY

Rt. Rev. Msgr. Luigi Ligutti is Director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference. He is an authority on rural sociology and agriculture, and has recently returned from Europe, where he studied the DP problem with relation to American rural life.

The Rev. Harold C. Gardiner, S.J., Literary Editor of AMERICA, will be available for a limited number of lectures in the North-west and California between September 20 and October 13. Those interested may contact Mrs. Josephine Ryan Murphy, 6145 North Lakewood Avenue, Chicago 40, Illinois.

## The Word

YOUNG JOE, I SUPPOSE, WILL BE a theologian, or—God forbid!—a radio quizmaster. He is a bottomless well of questions. Not so his sister Betty. She appreciates; she does not analyze. Her eyes shine as she listens to the gospel for the eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost. She sighs, and is silent. She does not give her father very much to write about.

But maybe she will be different on other Sundays. After all, there is nothing very puzzling about Matt. 9: 1-9. Jesus got in a boat and crossed the water to His home town. People brought a man who was paralyzed. Jesus saw that they believed in Him. He forgave the man's sins. There were other people present who didn't believe in Him. To prove that He had power to forgive sins, He cured the sick man. And the people praised God "for giving such powers to men."

Not very puzzling, but—"You've got to think about it," I said to Betty. She nodded, and frowned furiously, holding her head in her hands. I read the gospel again. "What," I asked, "was the first thing Jesus did?" She thought for a moment. Then she said: "He forgave the man's sins."

"Do you know why?"

Betty shook her head. "No."

"Think. What happens when a man's sins are forgiven?"

Betty thought. She stared into space. She rumbled her hair. Suddenly she cried: "I know! His soul gets well!"

"That's it!" I exclaimed. "When Jesus looked at the man, He didn't just see his body. He saw his soul, too, and it was sick. That was worse than palsy. So Jesus cured the man's soul first, because what's the use of having a healthy body if your soul is crippled? Remember how He said to the man, 'Take courage.'"

"Daddy," asked Betty, "does that mean 'Don't be afraid?'"

"It does."

"Jesus meant that if our sins are forgiven and God is our friend, we shouldn't be afraid of anything. Didn't He?"

"He did."

Betty did some more thinking. Then she said: "Because even if we got killed, we'd go to heaven, and that's nothing to be afraid of, is it?"

She beamed at me when I said: "You've got it exactly right."

We sat silent for a while, until Betty asked: "What else?"

Now it was my turn to think. Like Betty, I stared into space. Presently I got an idea.

"You know," I said, "there's another reason why Jesus healed the man's soul

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before He healed his body. Can you think what it is?"

Betty laughed. "No," she said, "I can't."

"Suppose your mother tells you to wear your hood when it's very cold. Suppose you disobey. Then suppose you get an ear-ache."

Betty puzzled over that for a minute. Then she asked slowly: "You mean that Jesus wanted us to know that sometimes we get sick because we're bad, and the way to get well is to stop committing sins?"

I nodded. "Not always, mind you; but sometimes. A sick soul can make a sick body. Lots of people who are ill would get well if they'd obey God. People who eat like pigs, people who drink like pigs, people who lie in bed when they ought to be up, people who run around at night when they ought to be sleeping—all kinds of people. And people who hate others. Hating can make you very ill and unhappy. Loving makes you feel wonderful. In fact—"

I paused. Betty waited. Then she said: "Yes?"

I went on slowly. "Betty, what would you think of a man who took very good care of his left eye, left ear, left arm and left leg, but was always smashing up the members of the right side of his body?"

Betty frowned. "I'd think he was crazy," she said.

"So then," I asked, "what do you think of people who do everything the doctor says to keep their bodies well, but don't do what God says to keep their souls well?"

Betty looked sorry. "I think *they're* crazy, too," she said. "I wish they'd stop being crazy."

I sat looking at the open book of the Gospels, wondering why we are so slow to understand. Betty watched me for a long minute. Then she came and put her arm around my shoulders. "Anything else, Daddy?"

I nodded. "Something else. See what it says here. Jesus said He was working His miracle to prove that the *Son of Man* has power on *earth* to forgive sins. And the people praised God for giving such powers to *men*."

"Do you notice that Jesus called Himself the Son of Man, and that He didn't talk about forgiving sins in heaven, but on earth. What do you think He meant?"

This time Betty did not hesitate. "Confession," she cried. "That's what it means about God giving powers to men. Priests can forgive sins too, because Jesus told them to—and it helps keep us well all over!"

I closed the Gospel. "Out of the mouths of babes," I thought. Aloud I said, "Go to the head of the class, Betty."

JOSEPH A. BREIG

## Theatre

**NASTY WORDS.** In a recently received letter, the writer asks why *Mr. Roberts*, in spite of the plethora of profane and obscene words in the dialog and the salacious field-glass business in the first act, was favorably reviewed in this column. The answer, of course, is that *Mr. Roberts* is a good play. The central figure in the story is one of the fine characters of American drama, the action builds up to an exciting conflict, the play has interludes of humor as clean as surgical gauze, and ends in pathos.

This appraisal of *Mr. Roberts* is not likely to satisfy my correspondent. Instead, it may suggest an even more embarrassing question. If the play contains so many elements of good theatre, he may ask, why was it necessary for the authors to put a torrent of gutter words in the mouths of their characters? This leads to the core of the never-ending controversy over censorship, a field of debate where agreement seems virtually impossible.

Anyone who has been a soldier in the ranks or observed sailors on shore leave, or anybody familiar with speech patterns on the lower levels of society, will find neither novelty nor exaggeration in *Mr. Roberts*. One of the functions of drama is to reflect life, not as we want it to be but as it actually is. One certainly would not expect sailors conscripted from the slums of Baltimore and the alleys of Pittsburgh to talk like Harvard men. Besides, the disciplined speech of the latter would not necessarily be a guarantee of superior morals.

Another function of drama, of course, is moral improvement. I admit without pressure that *Mr. Roberts* is lukewarm in that respect. It is a picture rather than a sermon. But it is a true picture that shows the wart on the subject's nose along with other blemishes.

*Mr. Roberts* is a faithful reflection of a cross-section of American character. Some of our Navy men are lewd and lustful, but the authors do not imply that lewdness and lust are admirable. They merely portray a segment of life in which coarse behavior and foul speech are part of the picture. I hope my correspondent will not insist that the authors should have selected another area of society for dramatic treatment. If art is a reflection of life, the artist cannot ignore color or conflict or rhythm or grace because he happens to discover it on Delancy Street. An artist must not be a snob.

This does not mean that drama must be dirty in order to be sincere or virile. *Command Decision* is quite as mascu-

line as *Mr. Roberts*, and its dialog is practically spotless. Nobody has ever hinted that Shaw is a sissy dramatist, though he has always managed to be humorous while avoiding the salacious. Shakespeare, on the other hand, was not above writing smutty lines to tickle the groundlings. Compared with *Anthony and Cleopatra*, *Mr. Roberts* rates a break.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## Films

**GOOD SAM.** Leo McCarey, who has parlayed his unabashed affection for sentiment and his considerable talent for down-to-earth comedy into numerous box-office bonanzas, is here attempting the Protestant equivalent of *Going My Way*. His hero (Gary Cooper) is a sort of secular saint, who does unto others as he would be done by, all the way from stopping buses for overburdened old ladies to lending large sums of money to neighbors in distress. The director has imparted comic overtones to these good deeds—theoretically an excellent idea. In practice, however, it has resulted in caricaturing the recipients of Sam's charity into a choice assortment of deadbeats, scoundrels and ingrates, and Sam himself into a bungling nincompoop, so that the uplifting moral is not only sugar-coated but thoroughly neutralized. More serious, when Mrs. Sam (Ann Sheridan)—who is a good helpmate and a good sport but wishes her husband's cheerful giving could be curbed sufficiently to get the family out of their small, rented horror and into a home of their own—asks the advice of her pastor (Ray Collins), his response is limited to a few unhelpful platitudes. The fact that it is difficult to see how, faced with such a phony dilemma, he could have done better, does not avert the unfortunate comparison with Father O'Malley, who was never at a loss. *Adults* will find an occasional sparkle of comedy or gem of wisdom in the midst of this hokum, but for the most part McCarey's obvious good intentions backfired. (RKO)

**LUXURY LINER.** At the time José Iturbi was apparently unavailable; but MGM corralled most of its remaining stableful of vocal and instrumental talent (Jane Powell, Lauritz Melchior, Xavier Cugat and Marina Koshetz) and set them down, along with the requisite number of handsome but unmusical players, on board a floating Waldorf Astoria bound for Buenos Aires. Since nothing hampers a musical-comedy plot so much as serious considerations like the problem of earning a living, the idea of having the story take place on

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a cruise ship, where no one is supposed to do anything but relax, was nothing short of inspired. The country-club spirit infects even as many of the ship's personnel as are visible, so the scene shifts from palatial suite to bridge and from galley to ballroom, accompanied almost constantly by selections from Wagner, Verdi, Massenet and Tin Pan Alley, without ever having to abandon its air of frivolity. What plot there is has to do with the ship's captain (George Brent) who, like all parents in Joe Pasternak movies, is no match for his teen-age daughter (Miss Powell) and is thwarted in his every effort to punish her for stowing away; and also with a sweet and simple but fabulously gowned war widow (Frances Gifford) who rejects a pursuing millionaire because he hasn't enough respect for ordinary people and is slated instead to become the young heroine's stepmother. For all its naiveté this lavish and colorful *family* musical is faster moving and more disarming than most. (MGM)

**TWO GUYS FROM TEXAS.** Those two guys from Warner Brothers, Dennis Morgan and Jack Carson, are being sent along a series of roads roughly paralleling those traveled so successfully by Crosby and Hope. The adventures of two unemployed vaudevillians during Frontier Week at a dude ranch include some wacky *nonsequiturs* which have a reminiscent flavor. For example, Carson describes a recurrent dream, and the narrative dissolves into an animated cartoon; or the two escape from a posse which has mistaken them for bandits by instantaneously fitting themselves out as bearded old-time prospectors. Since—aside from these optical tricks—the humor consists almost entirely of working the conversation around to general topics which the audience knows from experience are meant to be funny—like the movie industry, psychiatry and the enormous regional pride of the citizens of Texas—and presuming that the laughs will come without further effort, neither Bing and Bob nor *adults* in general have any reason to be concerned with the finished product. (Warner Brothers)

MOIRA WALSH

## Parade

**MANY OF THE WEEK'S BEHAVIOR** patterns were of the inoffensive type. . . . Fountain-of-youth attitudes appeared. . . . In Denmark, a fifty-year-old woman, declaring she looked ten years younger than her age, requested legal permission to change her birth date from 1898 to 1908. . . . Considera-

tion for the underprivileged was demanded. . . . In Huntington, W. Va., a bald-headed councilman introduced a resolution prohibiting barbers from charging more than twenty-five cents for bald-headed hair cuts. . . . Efforts to secure housing continued. An Aurora, Ill., newspaper ad read: "Reward—fifty pounds beefsteak and roasts for an opportunity to rent an apartment or a house." . . . Adjustments to new environments were achieved. . . . Transferred to night duty, a former day watchman at a Missouri railroad roundhouse found sleep impossible in the daytime quiet of his home. . . . Seeking a synthetic roundhouse atmosphere, he tied tin cans to an electric fan, and sank to sleep to the lullaby of the cans. . . . Honors were conferred. . . . In Fort Monmouth, N.J., a carrier pigeon, veteran of two wars, received a gold leg-band and an Army citation. . . . Assaults on civil rights were repelled. . . . When people in a Los Angeles apartment house complained to authorities that a man in the apartment disturbed the peace by his snoring, the city prosecutor ruled that snoring in one's own residence is an inalienable right. The official explained: "A private citizen may snore with immunity in his own home, even though he may be in possession of unusual and exceptional natural ability in that particular field."

As was to be expected, not all the week's behavior patterns were of the inoffensive type. . . . There were disquieting patterns. . . . A nineteen-year-old New Jersey girl sat down in a bus, began sticking a hat-pin into the woman beside her. Arrested, the girl remarked: "I never met the woman before. I just thought it would be fun to jab her." . . . Patterns varied. . . . In Philadelphia, a stranger saw two citizens talking, bit the right ear of one, the left ear of the other. . . . In Chicago, when a man strove to prevent a fight, he sustained a bitten nose. . . . Judicial dignity was ruffled. . . . A Detroit court saw a wife gnawing both the right and the left ear of the policeman who testified against her husband.

As the week ended, unseen agents gathered the behavior patterns, good and bad, and forwarded them to heaven. . . . Infinitely superior to even the most efficient data-collecting human organizations, such as the FBI with its millions of finger prints, the celestial organization stores away untold billions of behavior patterns, which are in reality character prints registering the thoughts, words and deeds of human beings. . . . Immediately after a man's death, a sort of spiritual microfilm containing all his character prints is reeled off before him. This showing accompanies the Particular Judgment.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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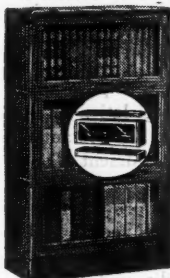
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# Correspondence

## **Parity and wool**

EDITOR: As a regular subscriber to your review, I read AMERICA's editorial of August 28 on "Wool and parity prices" before receiving the marked copy you were thoughtful enough to send me. May I say that AMERICA not only misses the point with respect to my controversy with the writers of the New York Times, but mistakes my position with respect to the wool tariff.

My controversy with the Times began when, on July 18, I issued a press statement pointing out that the increased steel prices which had just been announced far exceeded the new wage increases, the alleged cause of the price rise. I charged that United States Steel had never made a good-faith fight against inflation, but had been edging prices upward for two years, and I asserted that the fact that the steel industry had openly surrendered to inflation was no reason for the country to do so. My point was that industry acting alone cannot halt inflation, and that only legislative action by Congress will do the job.

When I responded to the Times, quoting the specific language of President Fairless in which he had expressed his surrender to inflationary forces, I was then attacked by Mr. Edward H. Collins in a signed article, for inconsistency, on the allegation that I had been the defender of, as he put it, "the most notorious and unnatural monopoly in wool." To this I replied by showing that wool is produced in the United States by half a million wool-growers, more than 90 per cent of whom own less than 100 animals each, and that the value of all the wool produced in the United States by all the 500,000 individual growers is less by almost \$75,000,000 than the 1947 profits made by the giant United States Steel Corporation.

Far from endeavoring to push through any tariff or quota legislation on wool, the record shows that I reluctantly accepted the House amendment. The bill which passed the Senate in 1947 contained no such tariff provision at all, no provision for import fees or quotas. The House of Representatives added an amendment which directed the President to initiate an investigation through the Tariff Commission if he had reason to believe that imports would "render ineffective or materially interfere with" the objectives of the Wool Act, and to impose fees or quota limitations if on the basis of the investigation he found the facts to justify such action. Manifestly, this vague and conditional pro-

vision respecting import fees and quotas was not "a high wool tariff." Disregarding that point, however, I desire to point out that when the bill came back to the floor of the Senate, I asserted in the debate on June 18 (page 7339 of the *Congressional Record*) that "in my opinion this Section 22 amendment was introduced for the express purpose of trying to kill the bill."

It is true that when the bill went to the President with the amendment in it I urged the President to sign the bill notwithstanding the amendment. This position I took upon the ground that the reciprocal trade agreements which were being negotiated at Geneva at that time were to contain, at the request of the State Department, express escape clauses, and that the provision in question was in effect itself an escape clause.

As to industrial monopoly and agriculture in general, my view, I think, is not very different from that of AMERICA itself.

You concede that "there is much truth in what" I say about the disadvantage under which agriculture labors. I am sure that AMERICA knows that although agricultural prices have gone up, they have not risen nearly so high as industrial prices. The ten-year average (1938-47) for all farm products is 168 per cent of the 1910-14 base period. But the average prices of the things the farmers buy are 250 per cent of the 1910-14 level. To keep parity prices for agricultural commodities down, therefore, it is necessary to keep down the prices of industrial products which farmers must buy.

True, wool is a deficit crop. But wool is a strategic commodity essential for the equipment of armies and navies. Wool is so essential that even before we became involved in World War II we granted to Great Britain the right to store huge quantities of Australian wool here so that they might not be cut off from Britain by the Axis navies. These quantities of wool were many times greater than the annual United States domestic production. To the extent that this country does not produce its own wool, it would in a crisis be dependent upon foreign sources for its supply.

I have felt, therefore, that the United States should not permit its productive capacity to be destroyed. That it was in danger of being destroyed was perfectly obvious to anyone who knew the facts. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa produce great quantities of wool. When the war ended, the accumulation

of British-owned wool was so great that the British Government estimated it would probably take a decade before it could be liquidated. I sought legislation by which the United States Government should protect 500,000 American wool-growers from the destructive competition they face through the British state monopoly.

JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY  
U.S. Senator from Wyoming  
Washington, D. C.

(We hope to discuss the implications of stimulated wool production in the United States in an early issue of AMERICA.—EDITOR)

## **Parity and incomes**

EDITOR: I am moved by your editorials of August 28 entitled "In defense of parity" and "Wool and parity prices," to express the view that in giving your advice not "to try to undermine the parity-support system," and "to air the matter thoroughly in public before granting price increases" you should offer additional advice, to the end that current ills of grave import in the parity system may be cured in the public interest without delay.

Already we are reading in the daily press of vast parity-induced surpluses of grain and potatoes, saleable only to the Government, which is forced by law to take them over, at an enormous loss to the taxpayers, who are unable to buy the potatoes they need at parity prices.

Then, turning to other pages in the daily press and to the weekly *U.S. News* of August 27, we read in statements of fifteen nine-year trends that "corporate profits after taxes" (at the top of the list) have increased 272 per cent since 1939 and, third on the list, "prices received by farmers," 206 per cent. "Weekly earnings of manufacturing workers," ninth on the list, have increased but 118 per cent; but incomes of people in the sere and yellow leaf, depending on investments of past savings in life-insurance annuities, pensions and government bonds, have increased not at all.

From these contrasts it would appear that in the failure of Congress to prevent an abuse of the parity system lies at least one of the outstanding reasons for spiraling inflation threatening our nation, if not the entire world as well.

The two titans—the corporations and the farmers—today, under the parity system passing the ball from one to the other, will, like Samson, pull down the pillars of the temple, to their ruin as well as ours, unless effective measures to curb these patent injustices are taken by Congress when first it meets again. In fact, it may already be too late.

WILLIAM J. WILGUS  
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